

EDITORS' PERCEPTION OF PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN EDITORIAL DECISION MAKING

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by

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ABSTRACT

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This study tries to answer two questions in the area of publisher activity in editorial decision-making: (1) the patterns of publisher's activities in editorial decision-making and (2) factors affecting editors' perceptions of such activities.

A survey was conducted in June and July 1985 of 193 editors of 14 commercial Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong. A 52 per cent return rate was achieved.

For patterns of publisher's activities, this study has found that publishers, as perceived by editors, tend to intensify their activities in non-routine situations, compared with their activities in routine situations. Moreover, publishers are perceived to be more actively involved in news contents affecting their newspapers' advertising revenues, contradicting their political views, or damaging their other business interests.

For measurement of factors affecting editors' perceptions

of such activities, three kinds of independent variables - editors' occupational roles, socialization in the news organization and editors' assessment of publisher - are used. Organizational structure and editors' media experience are treated as the intervening variables. Chi-square test results indicate that there are no statistically significant relationships between dependent and independent variables. Nor do organizational structure and editors' media experience have any intervening effect on these relationships.

This survey concludes that editorial decisions seem in many ways similar to those observed in other business organizations. As such, those with authority would be perceived to command the legitimacy of offering their suggestions or guidelines.

As questions are presented in a hypothetical matter, future research is advised to use case studies and projective methods so as to avoid the sensitivity of the issues involved.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

When this researcher sat at the panel interview for admission to the graduate program in communication offered by the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1983, he was asked by one of the panelists this question: "Why do you wish to enrol in this program since you have been doing so well in your journalistic career?"

At that time, this researcher had already had five years of experience in journalism, including three years with a radio station and two years with a newspaper. At the latter organization, he was promoted to a supervisory post as News Editor and Assistant to the publisher. This researcher was then the youngest among the news editors in the local media. He had done quite well in terms of pay and position. His decision to pursue further academic study surprised most of his friends; while, to him, it was just inevitable.

During the past five years as a working journalist, he came across many questions which he could not answer and saw a lot of things which he was unable to explain. For instance, when he was with the local radio station, he had a story about the number of people living in squatter areas, and the figure he

came up with was surprisingly much higher than the official one. Unfortunately, this would-be headline story was trimmed down by his editor to a modicum. At a Chinese newspaper, when this researcher reported the Government's intention to regulate cigarette advertising, that story was never published. The chief editor explained that the publisher would not like to see in his newspaper any story harmful to his cigarette advertisers. He later found out that the publisher had never given such an instruction and that it was merely the editor's perception of the publisher's intention. The case reminded this researcher of Harold Evans of the London Sunday Times. Evans was told by Denis Hamilton, the chief editor, that the newspaper's publisher would not like to see the Sunday Times support the Labour Party in the general election in 1974. In fact, it was Hamilton's perception rather than the publisher's position (Evans 1983, p.23).

A journalist from a local Chinese newspaper reported that the Government donated 15 million Hong Kong dollars to the South Pacific Fund, which was set up to help relieve the financial difficulties of the dependents of those killed in the Falkland War in 1982. Investigating the motivation of the donation, he found Hong Kong to be the most generous donor among members of the Commonwealth countries. He had collected enough evidence to prove that the donation was part of a political deal arranged to gain the British Parliament's sympathy to relax the limitations to be imposed upon holders of Hong Kong-British passports. When

this journalist wanted to investigate further, he was told by the chief editor to stop. No reason was given. There were many such incidents, in which judgement of news value was apparently not made on each story's own merit. As Schlesinger (1979, p.81) has observed, news is the 'exercise of power over the interpretation of reality'. In a news organization, whereby the operation of gathering and processing news resembles more or less an assembly line (Gans 1979, p.84), decisions are made at the top of the hierarchical ladder and instructions are channelled downward from the top.

Breed (1955, p.326) stressed the importance of the role of a publisher too. Organization theorists consider that a publisher is a superior. He must either give instructions or perform specific activities. These instructions or activities can be interpreted either positively as supervisory or negatively as interfering (Bowers 1967, p.43). This suggests that the perception of publishers' activities in editorial decisions depends on the interpretation of the editors. Thus, the term "activities" instead of "interference" is used throughout this study, indicating the neutrality of this researcher in conceptualizing the research problem in data collection as well as in data analysis. In fact, when this researcher raised the problem, of publisher activity in editorial decisions and how an editor would perceive such an activity to the interviewees, who were managing editors, news

editors, feature editors and chief editors, their reactions varied greatly. Some of them denied any instructions from the publishers. They held that each and every decision was made by themselves and that they were glad to consult the publisher's views whenever possible. For some editors, it was another story. They were simply pleased to be instructed by the publisher. As they saw it, this meant that when the publisher gave instructions to them, they were not forgotten by the publisher and they were indispensable. Why did editors have varied perceptions on publisher activity? These differences may be attributed to three groups of factors. The first is the editor's occupational role, meaning his position in the news organization and career orientation. The other is the editor's socialization in a news organization. The last is the editor's assessment of his publisher; including the editor's perceived esteem held for the publisher, his perceived political congruence with the publisher, and his perceived editorial experience of the publisher.

There are only a handful of studies on the perception of publishers' activities in Hong Kong and abroad. Some only study the perceived frequency of publisher activity or the contents of news in which publishers involve themselves. To analyse perceived publisher activity in terms of frequency and contents of news involved is far from enough in presenting a full picture of publisher activity. Thus, this study tries to look at two

additional areas, viz. the channels used by the publisher to pass down instructions and the clarity of such instructions. More specifically, this exploratory study attempts to answer the following two questions:

- A. Do publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong have any activity in editorial decision making?
- B. What variables contribute to editors' varied perception of publishers' activities?

It is hoped that this study will provide a better understanding of publishers' activities in editorial decision-making. Thus, academically, this thesis will fill a research gap. Practically, this study may provide some reflections for publishers and editors, as well as media critics. There are loud and clear voices from some media critics that some commercial Chinese newspapers have been changing their neutral positions in politics to a pro-Communist China stand. Breed (1955, p.335) asserts that any change of a newspaper must get the publisher to change first. It is therefore the right time to study publishers' activities when Hong Kong is now in the transitional period - from a British colony to a Special Administrative Region under China's sovereignty. This is the prime motive of this researcher in enrolling in this program in the first place and for conducting this exploratory research now.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter reviews pertinent research literature on publisher activity in editorial decision-making. It is organized around four major themes: first, cases of publisher activity reported by both overseas and Hong Kong editors; secondly, aspects of publisher activities having been discussed by researchers; third, variables which affect editors' perception of publishers' activities; and fourth, the roles of intervening variables.

I. PUBLISHER ACTIVITY REPORTED BY EDITORS

Publisher activity in editorial decision-making rarely becomes obvious until the confrontation between publisher and editorial staff is acute. At the New York Post, when the -----
journalists protested against the newspaper showing favoritism towards one politician, publisher Rupert Murdoch retorted that "they think it's their paper. Well, they are wrong. It is mine" (Evans 1983, p.213). Harold Evans, after a one-year battle with the publisher on freedom of editorial decision, resigned from the respectable post as the chief editor of the London Times (Evans 1983, p.25).

Another case was given in Epstein's study. Fred Friendly, then President of CBS News Division, resigned after being refused by his superiors to have a third time pre-empt on all day programmes to televise the Senate's hearing on a supplementary bill to fund the Vietnam War in 1966. His superiors refused him on the grounds that the first and second pre-emptions caused the network a loss of US\$350,000. In his letter of resignation, Friendly admitted there were constraints in the News Division. He said the executives "are making a news judgement but basing it on business criteria...." (Epstein 1974, p.120).

At the New York Times, managing editor Clifton Daniel, ----- recalled how Times Editor fumed and disagreed on the handling of ----- the Cuban Bay of Pig pre-invasion story. That story was scheduled for lead position on page one. But the publisher of the Times, Orvil Dryfoos, ordered the story "moved to a less ----- prominent place, the headline minimized, and any reference to the imminence of the invasion eliminated." The publisher "felt it was in the national interest to withhold certain vital facts, including the Central Intelligence Agency's involvement, from the American people." One of the Times editors became so angry ----- that he demanded "Dryfoos himself come down from the publisher's office and personally order the Times' self-censorship. Dryfoos ----- did, justifying it on the grounds of national security and concern for the safety of the men preparing to offer their lives

on the beaches of Cuba" (Talese 1970, p.5).

In Hong Kong, one publisher also intervened in editorial decisions for political reasons. During the politically and socially unstable period from September 1982 to September 1984, when negotiations were underway between China and Britain on the future of Hong Kong and when the Hong Kong dollar plummeted to a historical low record, almost 10 to 1 against the American dollar, and when people were talking about immigration, there were no signs of confidence in Hong Kong. During that period, the publisher of an independent newspaper issued a very explicit note to all supervisory level staff to reiterate the paper's stand that no articles, editorials or pictures should damage the stability of Hong Kong. He also held a small meeting with departmental heads to make known his view on the general attitude in reporting China. He thought that the Chinese leaders were more open than ever before, and for the good of the nation as a whole, his newspaper should no longer criticise the leaders, Deng Xiaoping in particular.³

In the past twenty years, this newspaper had grouped together many feature writers who were very critical of Communist China. Now, following the publisher's news policy, they still have a free hand to criticise China on policy matters, but what is no longer allowed is hurling abuses. However, one of the columnists, continued to criticise Deng, resulting in one of his articles being killed. The columnist

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protested and did not write for about one month. Later on, although he continued to write his column, he was hinted by the publisher to quit contributing. His column was then removed permanently from the newspaper. This event has been widely referred to by Hong Kong media critics as a case where a publisher intervened with editorial autonomy and voluntarily surrendered under political pressure to the Chinese Communist Party.

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To cite another local case, a former News Controller of a local television station confronted the station owner on the handling of the coverage of a Shanghai Fashion Show held in Hong Kong. The show was sponsored by this television station's competitor, which did not allow that TV crew to shoot the models' demonstration at the press conference. The former News Controller thought there was no ground in using that story for the news cast since there was no footage. But his boss disagreed and came to the newsroom to instruct the staff how to cover the story. The former News Controller resigned in protest. It appears that the boss, also a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, was personally concerned about the publicity of the Shanghai Fashion Show of Mainland China.

II. ASPECTS OF PUBLISHER ACTIVITIES

The above events have pinpointed some important areas of publisher activity: A. perceived publisher activity and publisher's involvements in deciding contents of news, B. clarity of instructions, C. channels used by publishers to give instructions. All these aspects, except contents of news, will be examined under routine and non-routine situations where Tuchman (1977, P.43) argues that some variables, such as "organizational structure, ideologies and power have become hidden in the routine situation and been taken for granted. These variables will only emerge in a non-routine situation." Understanding of non-routine situations can provide more information on the routine operation. This researcher's observation is that a more precise measurement could come out only when respondents have been told to give information under two situational categories.

A. Perceived Publisher Activity and Publisher's Involvements in Deciding the Contents of News

Over the years, publisher activity in editorial decision-making has been adopted as a theme for a number of fiction or non-fiction books but these were reported piecemeal by academic researchers. Warren Breed was perhaps the first to make remarks on publisher activity, regarded as 'subtle' and 'consistent'. But he failed to examine the concept further,

because his interest was in "how policy comes to be maintained, and where it is bypassed" (Breed 1955). He recognized the important role of publisher, the necessity for publisher to give instructions and to ensure the execution of his policy by his staff. He then turned his attention to editors.

Elaborating on Breed's study, David Bowers continued to explore publisher activity in the editorial decision-making. He found that publisher activity is not equally distributed in all editorial areas. Publisher activity is preferential. Bowers asserts that publisher activity is hinged on geographical proximity and newspaper revenue. He finds that publisher shows greatest activity "in the reporting of local news, followed in order by state and regional, national, foreign and international news". Publisher is also active in areas which might affect the revenue of the newspaper or the interest of the publisher's relatives (Bowers 1967). What Bowers did not tell us is the general frequency of publisher activity in editorial decision-making. Does the publisher take part all the time or occasionally? To the best knowledge of this researcher, this basic question remains unanswered. This researcher holds that we need to know both the frequency of publisher activity in general as well as in any particular news contents. Only then can we have a comprehensive understanding of publisher activity in editorial decision-making.

B. Clarity of Instruction

On the degree of clarity of instruction given by the publisher, researchers find that they may be explicitly or implicitly given. Breed asserts that with a journalist's ethical constraints, a publisher would give implicit instructions rather than explicit instructions, or publisher would give no instructions at all. But Breed's assertion might have been mis-represented, since among the 120 newsmen interviewed by Breed (1955, p.328) most came from northeastern regions of the United States. Bowers' study found that in the United States northeastern publishers tended to be more liberal than their southern counterparts. Breed's assertion was therefore conditioned by geographical factor. However, Bowers (1967), in his study of managing editors of evening dailies, found a large proportion of publisher instructions to be explicit rather than implicit. But his findings were inconclusive due to the large number of unanswered questionnaires from large circulation newspapers. It is this researcher's view that the degree of clarity of instructions may vary according to the change of situations.

C. Channels Used to Give Instructions

When Breed studied how publisher's policy can be maintained, he identified five ways in which editors learned the publisher's policy, namely: 1. learning by publisher's direct veto and subtle activity; 2. learning from conferences; 3.

learning through gossips; 4. learning from overhearing of publisher's views; 5. learning from official publication (Breed 1955). These five ways, together with other means which the publisher manipulates, can be regrouped into three channels, namely, 1. informal and direct channel, such as personal contact bypassing hierarchical ladder; 2. formal and indirect channel, such as executive orders passed down from the hierarchical ladder; 3. formal and direct channel, such as face to face conferences. It is this researcher's view that the use of channels by publishers is an important aspect of publisher activity that ought to be examined.

III. VARIABLES AFFECTING EDITOR'S PERCEPTION OF PUBLISHER ACTIVITY

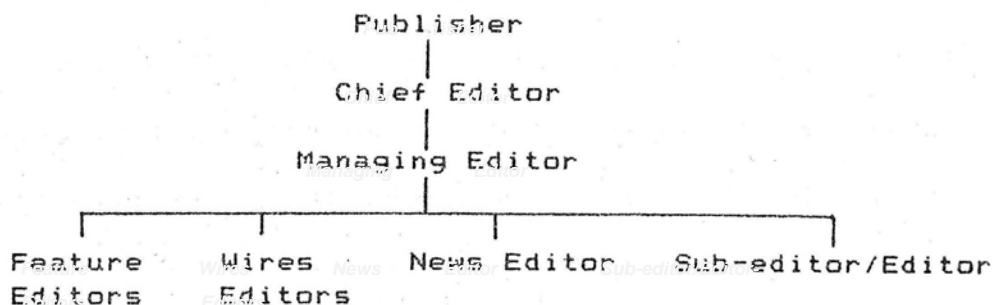
The list of variables affecting one's perception may be endless. Psychological, sociological, and physiological factors may all have their respective roles to play. Within a news organization, perception of publisher activity may be influenced by three major factors: an editor's occupational roles, his socialization in the news organization and his assessment of the publisher. A brief synthesis of pertinent literature will shed light on how these factors function to influence an editor's perception.

A. Editors' Occupational Roles

An editor's occupational roles are characterized by two aspects of his professional activities. First, it has to do with the position this editor holds in a news organization. Second, it has to do with his career orientations, i.e., whether he is a devoted professional or simply a job holder. Both factors have impact on an editor's perception of his publisher's activities.

(1) Positions

It is crucial to note that an editor's power comes from the publisher. As Anderson and Murdock have found, management only extends to the publisher's door (Anderson and Murdock 1977, p.16). The appointment of chief editor is made by the publisher. The appointment of other important posts, such as managing editor or news editor, may come either directly or indirectly through the chief editor from the publisher. While this practice may vary from one organization to another, the general pattern is similar. A typical structure within a news organization including that in Hong Kong can be schematically summarized as follows:



An editor who holds a higher position in a news organization, since he is closer to the publisher in the hierarchical ladder, can therefore perceive more publisher activity. Editors who witnessed publisher activities in the case of New York Times and the Hong Kong television station mentioned ----- earlier were all holding senior positions. As a senior editor, he has a lot of opportunities to perceive publisher activity. But as Bagdikian described, a chief editor is in a dilemma position. He has to support and fulfil the publisher's demand. On the other hand, he has to smooth out his subordinates' dissatisfaction, if there is any, even before interference from the publisher. The chief editor knows how to solicit power and budget from the publisher, and he has to prevent journalists from making any trouble (Bagdikian 1974). Sigelman's study comes to the same conclusion. The senior editorial staff perform a dual role of meeting the publisher's demand while allowing journalists a certain degree of freedom to maneuver as a gesture of respect for their professional status. If the chief editor cannot handle the conflicts between a publisher and his journalists, he can only resign (Sigelman 1973).

Bagdikian and Sigelman's studies tend to place emphasis on the ideal role of the chief editor in the hierarchy. In their descriptions, a chief editor is neutral in policy matters. He is only an administrator. He takes no stance on editorial decisions, nor does he have any conflict with the publisher.

Matejko, however, finds that the editors have three kinds of role and authority: 1. professional authority (as journalists); 2. administrative authority (as bosses); and 3. personal authority (as colleagues) (Matejko 1970, p.173). Anderson and Murdock see the editor as occupying a compromising position, by performing the similar functions as Matejko has mentioned. An editor who carries production responsibility allows and entrusts the greatest freedom to his news staff and is responsible to the publisher for running the newspaper without causing any trouble (Anderson and Murdock 1977). These are the functions that a news organization requires the man to perform once he takes up a supervisory position as a senior editor. For the editors in non-supervisory positions, their duties are editing and rewriting news scripts, and preparing headlines. Their routine jobs are not always related to policy, and may not have contacts with the publisher. This is why publisher activity is rarely reported by junior editors.

(2) Editors' Career Orientations

The position one holds reflects the duty that a news organization imposes on an individual. One's career orientation reflects one's self occupational goals and values. Cantor, in studying TV producers, has identified three major career orientations: film makers, writer producers and old-line producers. The film makers are college graduates who make use of their employment at the TV station to learn the necessary techniques. Once they grasp the skills, they will quit and go

out to make films. So the film makers are less likely to have conflicts with the executives. The writer producers also have college background and most have been freelance script-writers for years. They have given up their previous jobs in the hope to gain greater control in the outcome of the story than they can as writers. So they often engage in covert struggle with the executives. They would like to have more say about the script but will not take the risk of either killing the story or being dismissed from the post. To have direct conflict with the executives are the old-line producers. Most of them have no college education, but are the most successful producers in terms of income and creativity. Their interest is to make TV series with high ratings. They will insist on using their right to produce the series which usually bring about conflicts with the executives (Wright 1975, p.70).

Editors have more or less the same career orientations as the producers. Stark found that professionally-oriented journalists place professionalism before organizational goals and have a higher rate of turnover, which means they either quit the job or be fired by the publisher at a higher rate. Seemann found that some editors have a strong security orientation. As one of his interviewees said, "This is one of the things you've got to think about. Job security is part of the game" (Seemann 1972, p.141). A third kind of career orientation, which is rarely mentioned in the research literature, is an editor's writing interest orientation. In

Chinese newspapers, there is a long tradition of editors being writers of the newspapers as well. He may be the feature writer, fiction writer, or columnist. Despite the low pay, some join a newspaper simply because there are opportunities for them to write. They love writing more than editing. This kind of career orientation has to be taken into consideration in the Hong Kong setting. Therefore, in this study, editors' career orientations are distinguished into three kinds, professional-editors, job-editors and writer-editors. These orientations are expected to influence editors' preception of their publisher's activities.

B. Editors' Socialization in Organization

Breed, in his classic study, describes the process of socialization of editors in a news organization. He divides an editor's socialization process into three stages. The first stage is the 'cub stage', during which he gets to learn the techniques and policy for a period ranging from a few months to a few years. The second is the 'wiring-in stage', whereby the individual continues to assimilate the norms of the organization he is working in and the informal relationships he establishes with other colleagues within the organization. Lastly, one will identify with the organizational goals and can be relied on to handle policy, and this is termed the 'veteran stage' (Breed 1955, p.333). Breed's study found that the length of service is related to socialization in the newsroom, i.e., the longer the service period, the greater the social norms of the newsroom are

internalized by the reporter. This study will not measure socialization per se. Instead, editors will be asked to indicate their length of service with the news organization at the time of interview, assuming that the longer an editor is with a newspaper, the more he will be socialized. Kapoor's study on editorial staff supports Breed's description of the socialization of a journalist. It shows that the longer one has been 'wired' into the news organization, the more acquainted he will be with the personnel and the operation of the machinery (Kapoor 1979).

C. Editors' Assessment of Publisher

As an editor interacts directly or indirectly with his publisher, he would naturally develop some opinions of the publisher. On a personal level, yet social-psychological, this has to do with the esteem an editor holds for the publisher. On an ideological level, it has to do with an editor's congruence or incongruence with the publisher in terms of their political thinking or stands. Third, on a professional level, it has to do with an editor's knowledge or perception of the publisher's professional qualifications as a journalist. These three factors are discussed as follows.

(1) Esteem for Publishers

As revealed in previous studies, researchers are more concerned with the esteem which the editor holds for a publisher. Breed's research finds that editors hold high esteem

for publishers particularly in large circulation newspapers.

Breed (1955, p.330) argues that perceived esteem of publisher is a factor in influencing dissident editors to follow newspaper policy. Once executives and older staff are not respected, "staffers are apathetic and sometimes hostile to policy".

Anderson and Murdock (1977) argue that "publishers' ideals and philosophies have some effect on managing editors when the latter make editorial or news decisions". These findings seem to suggest that perceived esteem of publisher is an important variable which may affect an editor's perception of publisher activity in editorial decisions.

(2) Political Congruence with Publishers

A publisher does have a set policy pertaining to his newspaper's stand for his staff to observe and implement. Some researchers find that journalists do concern about a newspaper's policy. Seemann's (1972) study has found that when a journalist is about to join a newspaper, he will have identified himself with the newspaper's policy. Anderson and Murdock (1977) also suggest that many publishers select editors with whom they feel philosophically compatible. A publisher's policy on politics is one of the significant points to be considered by an editor when a newspaper's policy is at stake. This is particularly important in Hong Kong, where most Chinese newspapers adopt different political stands. An editors' perceived political congruence with the publisher will affect his perception of publisher activity.

(3) Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience

This is one of the variables in Anderson and Murdock's study (1977) to determine if a publisher would interfere in editorial decisions. This suggests that in Kansas and Nebraska, where the study was conducted, a publisher with editorial experience will be less active in the editorial decision than publisher without editorial experience (Anderson and Murdock 1977, p.15). In the print media of Hong Kong, some of the publishers themselves are old hands in editorial work, some do not have any editorial experience. They only take care of the business aspects of the news organization and leave editorial decisions with their subordinates. Editors' perceived publisher activity as influenced their perception of publisher's editorial experience will be tested in this study.

IV. VARIABLES INTERVENING EDITOR'S PERCEPTION OF PUBLISHER ACTIVITY

While an editor's personal background (professional orientations and experiences in a news organization) and subjective assessment of the publisher have direct bearing on perceived publisher activity, a few other variables may intervene in this influence process. These variables are (A) the way the newspaper is organized, and (B) an editor's media experience prior to joining his present newspaper.

A. Organizational Structures

As the chief executive whose strength and time are limited

(Longenecker 1969, p.203), a publisher cannot supervise and communicate personally to all of his staff. Therefore, a publisher must rely on the organizational structure to implement his decisions. He is, in turn, confined by organizational structure. This is why organizational structures have to be taken into account when considering publishers' activities. Organization theorist Luthans said organization structure determines the frequency of the communication flow between the superior and subordinate. Organizational structures can be clarified into two categories; namely, flat and tall structures (Blau 1968, p.466; Moore 1964; Luthans 1977). Moore (1964) suggests that flat structure has few supervisory levels between the top and the bottom of the organization, and the organizational charts look flat instead of tall. Authorities are centralized at the top, the executives have many direct contact with the subordinates without passing any intermediate levels. This kind of structure is prevalent in smaller organizations. In a tall structure which has more supervisory levels, the distance between the top executives and their subordinates is greater than that in a flat structure. Worthy (1950) suggests that the flat structure is superior than the tall structure. The staff morale is much higher in a flat structure than in a tall structure. Blau (1968, p.466) inclines to favor a tall structure, which is more efficient and thus prevailing in modern organizations.

Despite of the arguments on the superiority of the types of structures, flat organizational structures seem to provide

(Porter and Siegel 1968, p.389; Luthans 1977, p.87). And, editors may hence perceive higher publisher activity in flat organizational structures than in tall organizational structures. Organizational structure may have effects on the clarity of instruction and the channels which the publisher uses. This researcher learns from his personal experience and interviews that editors in flat organizational structures recall more explicit instructions than editors in tall organizational structures. Editors in flat structures also perceive higher frequency of informal and direct channels being used by the publishers than editors in tall structures. The relationship of organizational structures intervening between publishers' activities and other variables will be further discussed in the following chapter on methodology.

B. Editor's Media Experience

Breed (1955) observed that a journalist's internalization of newsroom norms may be a function of his length of service. Seemann (1971) added that such socialization in the newsroom might have happened well before one joins the present news organization. This researcher agrees with Seemann that although one's service in the present news organizations may not be long, his abundant working experience in other media may give him the ability to perceive higher publisher activity. An editor's media working experience will then be added to see whether there is any intervening effect between length of service and the perception of publisher activity.

For the reason of simplicity, the term "editor's media experience" is used to indicate "the number of news organizations served in the past". Media experience may be understood to include the nature of the professional job (such as reporting, editing or interviewing, etc), the different types of news organizations (such as a television station, a newspaper or a radio station), the number of news organizations served, and of course the number of years working in the mass media field, the indicator used in this study is, however, the number of news organizations served in the past. It is aware that this is only one of the many indicators of media experience. The most important reason for using such term, however, is that this study is trying to examine editor's perception of publisher's activities in editorial decisions. Thus, the greater number of news organizations one has served in the past, the greater would be the chances of this editor exposed to different organizational structures and different styles of publisher's activities in editorial decisions.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

This is an exploratory study with the aim to examine editors' perception of publishers' activities in editorial decisions in two areas:

- A. Do publishers of Hong Kong commercial Chinese newspapers, as perceived by editors, have any activities in editorial decision making?
- B. To what extent editors' occupational roles, socialization in the news organization and assessment of publisher affect such perception; and to what extent organizational structures and editors' media experience affect such perception?

To answer the first question, publishers' activities, as perceived by editors, are measured in the following areas: 1. perceived publisher activity in deciding the contents of news; 2. the characteristics of publishers' activities in routine and non-routine situations.

The second question is answered by hypothesis testing. There are three aspects of publisher activity-perceived

publisher activity, clarity of instructions, channels publisher uses to give instructions. They are treated as the dependent variables and will be examined to see if they are a function of the following independent variables:

1. editors' occupational roles, 2. editors' socialization in the news organization, and 3. editors' assessment of publisher. It is expected all three independent variables would affect the dependent variables with different magnitude (Table 1).

Table 1

THE RELATIONS OF DEPENDENT
AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
Editors' Occupational Roles	Perceived Publisher Activity
Editors' Socialization in Organization	Clarity of Instructions
Editors' Assessment of Publisher	Channels

To operationalize them: editors' occupational roles are measured by editors' positions in news organizations and editors' career orientations. Similarly, editors' socialization in organization is measured by editors' length of service in present news organizations. Editors' assessment of publisher is measured in three aspects: the level of esteem editors hold for the publisher, the congruence of editors with their

publisher in political views, and the editorial experience of the publisher, as perceived by the editor.

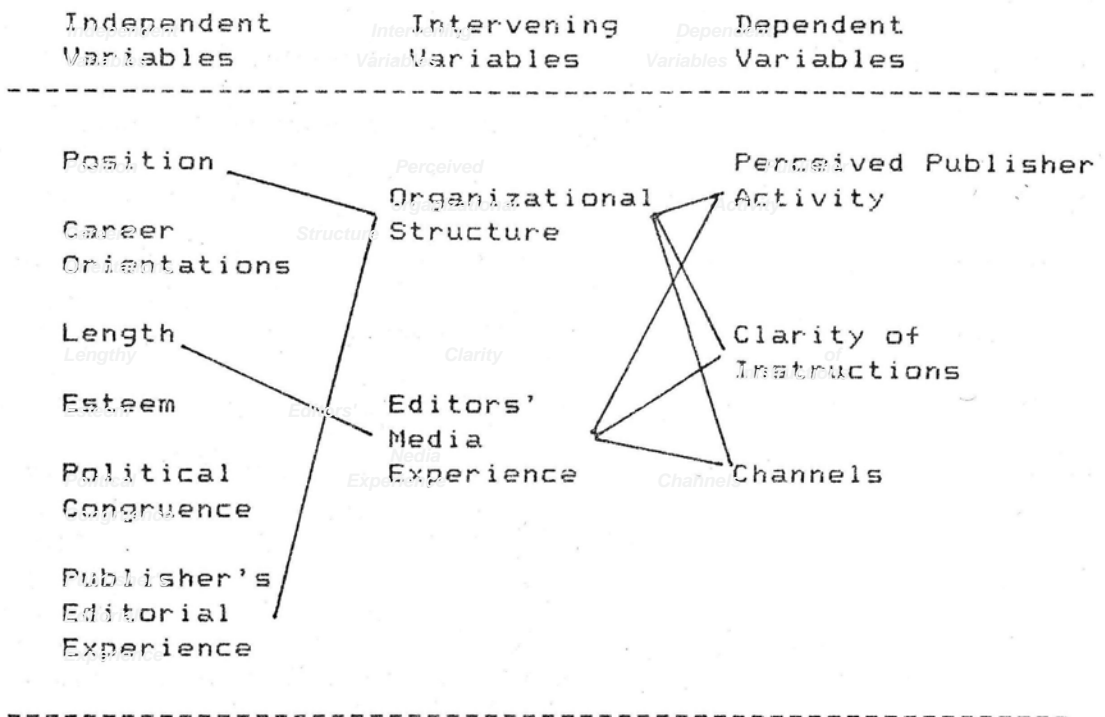
The variable of organizational structure is used to test whether there is intervening effect existing between editors' positions as well as perceived publisher's editorial experience and the three dependent variables. It is the observations of this researcher and organizational theorists (Luthans 1977, Porter and Siegel 1965) that organizational structures play a certain role on perception of publisher activity. The publishers, whether they are experienced in editorial matters or not, are constrained by organizational structures (Luthans 1977). Thus, editors who occupy equivalent positions in different news organizations may perceive publishers' activities quite differently due to different organizational structures.

The variable of editors' media experience is applied to see whether it has any intervening effect between editor's length of service in the present news organization and the three dependent variables. As Seemann (1971) asserts, socialization will take place well before one joins a news organization. Thus, an editor's socialization in the news organization can be acquired from former as well as present news organizations. It is therefore imperative to test the intervening effect of experience in the perception process.

The relationship among the independent, intervening, and dependent variables are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

INTERVENING VARIABLES BETWEEN DEPENDENT
VARIABLES AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



II. DEFINITIONS

A. Dependent Variables

1. Publishers' Activities

Publishers' activities refer to the following areas: 1, perceived publisher activity, 2, clarity of instructions, and 3, channels that publishers use to give instructions.

(i) Perceived Publisher Activity

The perceived publisher activity is measured by asking the subjects to indicate how often the publisher has offered his opinion in editorial decisions, as recalled by the subjects.

Specifically, the frequency of publisher activity is expressed as 'always', 'occasionally', 'few', and 'none'. For the purpose of this analysis, these categories are collapsed into two levels: with 'always' and 'occasionally' combined as 'high'; 'few' and 'none' combined as 'low'.

(ii) Clarity of Instructions

When a publisher gives instructions to his editors, such instructions may vary in their clarity. Instructions may be explicit (clear) or implicit (ambiguous or unclear). 'Very clear' and 'clear' are grouped under the 'explicit' category. 'Ambiguous' and 'unclear, needing judgment' are included under 'implicit' category.

(iii) Channels

A publisher has three kinds of channels to convey his instructions. The first kind is informal and direct. A publisher may bypass all hierarchical ladders and give instructions to the editor concerned. The second kind is through formal and indirect channels, such as orders passed down the hierarchical ladder. The last is formal and direct channels which refer to face-to-face editorial conferences.

B. Independent Variables

1. Editors' Occupational Roles

(i) Position of Editor

Editors occupy different positions in a news organization's hierarchy. The staff establishments of the commercial

Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong may include a chief editor, deputy chief editor, managing editor, news editor, deputy and assistant news editors, wires editors, sub-editors and various feature editors. These editors can be distinguished by newspaper conventions into two levels: senior editors and junior editors.

1. Senior Editors: chief editor, managing editor, news editor and their respective deputies and assistants are regarded as senior editors.
2. Junior Editors: Editors not included in the senior editor's category fall into this category.

(ii) Career Orientations

One's career orientation reflects one's occupational goals and values, which in turn affect one's perception in the news organization. An editor's career orientations are measured by self-assertion. Pre-test interviews conducted in May and June 1985 of local editors, suggest that editors' career orientations can be distinguished into three categories. The first category consists of professionally-oriented editors, who uphold journalistic values and goals and place emphasis on the social responsibility of the mass media. The second category includes interest-oriented writer-editors, who enjoy being an editor as the job provides them with an ideal working environment to write fiction or non-fiction stories. This is particularly true for the older editors who regard writing as part of their lives,

and, for many, their reputations are built upon their writings. The third category consists of job-oriented editors, who regard their work as nothing more than an occupation, equivalent to any other job they can find. Or they may take their present newspaper job as a stepping stone. Once they think they have mastered the editing techniques, they will quit and move to other jobs with higher pay, better fringe benefits and brighter prospects.

2. Editors' Socialization in Organization

An editor's socialization in the news organization is measured by his length of service, meaning the period of time that an editor has served in the present news organization at the time of this survey. As Breed (1955, P.332) suggests, when one has been 'wiring in' in an organization longer, he will become more acquainted with the personnel and the news operation. In other words, it is a duration during which an editor is socialized by a news organization. Length of service is measured in two categories. Pre-test suggests that for those who have served for over ten years are considered as 'long', while those who have served for less than ten years are considered as 'short' in their socialization.

3. Editors' Assessment of Publisher

An editor's assessment of the publisher is measured along three dimensions: esteem held for the publisher, congruence with the publisher's political views and perceived publisher's

editorial experience. The esteem an editor holds for the publisher is measured in terms of 'respect' in Chinese. The respondent is asked to indicate his degree of 'respectfulness' for the publishers. Responses are grouped into three categories. 'High' category includes 'very respectful' and 'respectful', 'low' category includes 'less respectful', 'the least respectful'. The third category is 'no opinion'.

Editors' answers on perceived congruence with the publisher's political views are grouped into three kinds: 1. 'congruent' includes 'highly congruent' and 'somewhat congruent'; 2. 'not congruent' includes 'somewhat discrepant' and 'greatly discrepant'; and 3. 'no opinion'.

An editor's perceived publisher's editorial experience is, again, a subjective measurement. Editors are asked to place his publisher in four categories according to the publisher's editorial experience: 'highly experienced'; 'experienced'; 'not experienced', and 'don't know'. The four categories are further collapsed into three categories: 'yes' category which includes 'highly experienced' and 'experienced', 'no' category refers to 'not experienced'. 'Don't know' is treated as a missing case.

C. Intervening Variables

1. Organizational Structure

Conceptually, organizational structure comprises generally two types - tall and flat structures. A tall organizational structure has more supervisory levels than a flat structure. In

Hong Kong commercial Chinese newspapers, most of the tall organizational structures comprise publisher, chief editor and deputies, managing editor and deputies, news editor and deputies, editors, and reporters. The flat organizational structure generally comprises publisher, chief editor, news editors, editors and reporters. Appendix 1 describes the organizational structures of the 14 commercial Chinese language newspapers in Hong Kong whose editors were surveyed.

2. Editors' Media Experience

Editor's media experience is measured by the number of news organizations that an editor has served in the past at the time of this survey. Pre-test shows that Hong Kong editors do not move from one news organization to another as frequently as reporters. Editor's mobility, in this sense, is very small. With regard to this view and the frequency of distribution, an editor, who has served one or two news organizations, is considered as having less media experience. Editors who are more experienced are those who have worked for three or more news organizations.

D. Contents of News

Bowers suggests that publisher's involvements in deciding the contents of news are varied. This part of the study replicates Bowers' with some modification. Racial, geographical and labour news are excluded, as these are sensitive issues in

the United States but not in Hong Kong. To accommodate the Hong Kong situation, some of Bower's contents of news are replaced. Specifically, editors are asked to indicate how probable the publisher will bring up his opinions in eight areas:

- * reports contrary to publisher's political views,
- * reports or pictures which will offend advertisers,
- * reports disadvantageous to publisher's relatives,
- * reports disadvantageous to publisher's business other than the newspapers,
- * reports concerning social welfare,
- * reports disadvantageous to politicians whom the publisher supports,
- * reports criticizing the government,
- * general features.

Indications are expressed as 'highly probable', 'probable', 'slightly probable', 'improbable' or 'do not know'.

E. Situations

Situations refer to the time that a publisher takes part in editorial decision-making or to make an editorial decision. Two situations can be defined. One is routine situation, the other is non-routine situation. A routine situation refers to normal situation whereby everyone in a news organization knows how to operate and process news, e.g. the senior editor chair the daily assignment meeting with reporters. Editors, who are responsible for certain content sections, know how to place the stories on

the page, and therefore, need not seek for advice. Chief editor makes the final check on the front page and ensures that the front page headline story is properly displayed. All the procedures of news gathering and assembling are operating smoothly. Such situation is referred to as a routine situation. Non-routine situation refers to the period when there are unexpected and great crucial event for the editors to handle. For example, when the Hong Kong dollar plummeted to a record low against the US dollar on September 24, 1983. The exchange rate was down to 9.8 to 1 and many people flocked into supermarkets to grab any goods they could get. Editors knew that these incidents had to be covered and handled with great care. Contingency plan was drawn up to release additional reporters to get responses from the government and from those in the finance circle. Chief editor or managing editor would immediately seek for advice from their publisher on how to treat these particular incidents. Normal procedures of news gathering and assembling were disrupted. Such is referred to as a non-routine situation.

III. DATA COLLECTION AND QUESTIONNAIRE

This study surveys editors of commercial Chinese language newspapers. Commercial English-language newspapers are excluded, and so are politically-linked newspapers. Among the 44 newspapers listed in Media Hong Kong published by the Hong Kong Government Information Service in February 1985, 25 newspapers meet this criterion.

Among these 25 newspapers, 11 are small newspapers, which have employed a total of 22 editors and have a small circulation. Some of the editors are performing dual roles as publisher and editor. It is conceived that to collect data from these newspapers will be inappropriate and too time consuming. Hence, these 11 newspapers are also excluded. This researcher established 14 contacts in each of 14 commercial Chinese newspapers with a total of 193 editors. These contacts or informants were friends or colleagues of the respondents, who are either friends of this researcher or those who know this researcher through a third party. Self-administered questionnaires, enclosed with self-stamped return envelopes, were distributed to the contacts or directly mailed to the respondents on 1 June, 1985. The completed questionnaires were to be returned to the contact person or mailed directly to this researcher by mid-July, 1985. These procedures were to keep the data strictly confidential and anonymous. As trust and confidence are the key to the high return rate, confidentiality was stressed at the beginning of the questionnaire. This researcher's residential address and contact telephone numbers were given in order to encourage direct dialogues with this researcher by the respondents in case of doubt.

By July 14, 1985, one hundred questionnaires were returned, achieving a return rate of 52%. Eight newspapers out of 14 has the return rate well over 50%. Four newspapers are even as high

as 80%. The breakdowns of the return rates for the 14 newspapers are given in Appendix 2.

To facilitate analysis, marks were made on the first page of the questionnaires on the English logo of "The Chinese University of Hong Kong" (Appendix 3). The position of the mark is to identify the newspaper to which the respondent belonged. Since the 14 newspapers have been categorized by this researcher into 'high' or 'flat' organization structure, the respondents can be grouped according to their newspapers' organizational structures. It is this researcher's view that every effort should be made to ease the respondent's doubts and worries and to protect their present jobs.

Besides the survey, informal interviews were conducted with the 14 contacts, each lasting from thirty minutes to an hour when questionnaires were hand-delivered to them. Interviews were conducted either in their offices or in public places. This researcher asked them mainly on the organizational structures of their newspapers, the actual operations in editorial decisions, the channels their publishers use to give their instructions. These data are used as a supplement to the survey.

As a preparation for the formulation of the questionnaire, a pilot study was conducted in December 1984 of Macao's newspaper editors. Findings from the pilot study were decisive in the exclusion of editors of politically oriented newspapers from this survey as they had given almost unanimous responses.

It was also learned that the problem under study is a very sensitive issue. To further test the questions, a pre-test was conducted in May 1985 of Hong Kong journalists. This pre-test contributed to the eventual use of the term "editorial decisions" as well as the format and wording of the questions. The final questionnaire consists of 18 questions (Appendix 4). Questions 1 to 6 measure the publishers' activities including frequencies, clarity of instructions, and channels. The first three questions measure these activities under routine situations while the latter three under non-routine situations. Question 9 measures the perceived publisher activity with various news contents. Questions 7, 8 and 11 measure an editor's assessment of the publisher, which includes an editor's perceived congruence with the publisher's political views, esteem for and perceived editorial experience of the publisher. Questions 10 and 17 measure an editor's occupational roles, which include the editor's career orientation and position in the news organization. An editor's socialization in the news organization is assessed by Questions 14, 15, and 16, which include an editor's media experience in terms of his length of service in the journalistic field in general and in the present news organization in particular. Length of service in the journalistic field is used as a cross check together with the length of service in present news organization. Personal data about editor's age, level of education and number of years in

present positions are asked in Questions 12, 13, and 18.

Questions 3 and 6 each has four sub-questions. Respondents are requested to indicate the frequency of publisher activity in each of the three sub-questions concerning instruction channels in routine and non-routine situations. These sub-questions are:

1. told you directly,
2. passed from supervisor,
3. at editorial conferences.

However, the response rates of the three sub-questions of Questions 3 and 6 range from 53% to 81%, or 27% to 42% of the total surveyed population. Since the percentages are so low that they cannot be considered usable in this study. There may be two possible reasons for the low response rates. Some publishers may indeed use only one kind of channels to communicate to their staff. Thus, such respondents need only answer one of the sub-questions instead of all. The other possible reason is that the respondent might have thought that only one sub-question should be answered. Although at the beginning of the questionnaire it has been stressed that each column must be answered, respondents may have answered only one sub-question of Questions 3 and 6 but not all the sub-questions. The usable questions, hence, are 16 out of a total of 18. The frequencies of the respondents on each question are given in

Appendix 5.

IV. LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In order to guarantee the homogeneity of the samples, this study is concentrating on newspaper editors. Editors of electronic media, whether radio or television, are excluded from the study as the total number of local radio and television stations is small and the production process of electronic news is more complicated than that of newspaper news. Furthermore, the overall organizational structure of local newspapers is relatively smaller than that of the electronic media, thus giving the publishers more opportunities to participate in the routines of news operation.

The pilot study found that the study of editors' perception of publisher activity in editorial decision-making is a very sensitive topic among editors. Some of them were very reluctant to say anything about their publishers to a third party, particularly to a researcher. They were afraid that once their comments were overheard by their publishers or supervisors, they would feel very embarrassed and their jobs would be endangered. These psychological concerns largely affected the design of the questionnaire. Highly sensitive issues had to be dropped and some sensitive terms were modified in order to gain higher return rate. This study also suffers from a high percentage of missing responses to Questions 3 and 6, which ask about the channels the publisher uses to give instructions. As a result, analysis in this area cannot be

performed. The original design to study publishers' activities in three aspects has to be modified. This researcher suggests that future study of publisher's instruction channels should avoid repeating this same kind of mistakes.

Another technical problem has to do with the level of measurement. Some editors have never filled out a questionnaire before. Some have been warned by their supervisors not to answer any questionnaire. The Oriental Daily in Hong Kong is just one of the many examples. In order to facilitate maximum return of the questionnaires, the level of data was lowered and questions were made as simple as possible. Hence, most of the data collected are nominal or ordinal.

A final note should be made on the nature of the questions. The questions measuring frequency of publisher activity in deciding the contents of news and publisher's activities in routine and non-routine situations are all hypothetical. This "hypothetical" nature has its strength and weakness. While it frees the editors from constraints to give frank responses in hypothetical situations, it does not measure the actuality of publisher's activities. Readers are reminded that this study explores the editor's perception of publisher activity instead of publisher's activities per se.

The findings of this survey are given in Chapter 4, 5, 6, and 7. Chapter 4 describes the patterns of publisher activities in different news contents in routine and non-routine

situations. Chapter 5, 6, and 7 deal with hypotheses testing.

The relationship of each of the three independent variables with the dependent variables will be discussed separately in individual chapters.

Chapter 4

PATTERNS OF PUBLISHERS' ACTIVITIES

This study has found that publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong, as perceived by the editors, tend to be more active in contents of news which might jeopardize income by offending advertisers or damaging publishers' other business interests (Table 3). In general, perceived publisher activity is more active (Table 4) and publishers' instructions are perceived more explicit in non-routine situations than in routine situations (Table 5). Furthermore, two types of perceived publisher activity can be identified - those perceived active in editorial decision in routine situations tend to be more active in non-routine situations (Table 6); and those whose level of activity remains the same across the two different situations (Table 7). For the publishers' clarity of instructions, there is a similar pattern. Publishers' instructions are in general perceived to be given more explicitly in non-routine situations than in routine situations (Table 8). However, over half of the surveyed editors perceive that the clarity of instructions given by publishers are explicit in both situations (Table 9).

I. PATTERNS OF PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN CONTENTS OF NEWS

Table 3 shows the perceived publisher activity in different contents of news. It is listed in descending order of frequency of occurrence, with offending advertisers being the highly probable content which the publishers are perceived to be involved.

Table 3

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN CONTENTS OF NEWS (%)

Contents which:	Highly Probable	Probable	Slightly Probable	Improbable	Don't Know	Total
Offending Advertisers	37.0	26.1	13.0	18.5	5.4	100
Contrary to Publisher's political view	25.3	29.7	16.4	18.7	9.9	100
Disadvantageous to Publisher's Related Business	22.7	22.7	14.8	27.3	12.5	100
Disadvantageous to Publisher's Relatives	21.6	23.9	15.9	25.0	13.6	100
Criticizing Government	16.3	25.6	24.4	31.4	2.3	100
Disadvantageous to Politicians Publisher Supports	14.8	21.6	20.4	27.3	15.9	100
About Social Welfare	11.6	33.7	19.8	29.1	5.8	100
About General Features	10.3	24.1	19.6	34.5	11.5	100

Table 3 shows that publishers are perceived to be actively involved in news contents which may offend advertisers. Over 60% of the surveyed editors (highly probable plus probable) share this view. Over half of surveyed editors perceive that publishers would get involved if the contents were incongruent with the publisher's political stands in general. Contents of news disadvantageous to publishers' related business and relatives occupy the third and fourth positions. Publishers are perceived to be less active in contents which criticize the government or the politicians whom the publisher supports, social welfare and general features.

It seems that publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong are perceived to take great personal involvements in editorial decisions affecting their advertising revenues. Almost four out of ten surveyed editors perceive their publishers to be highly probable to be active in contents offending advertisers. Another 26% say this is probable. Less than 20% of the editors say it is not likely for their publishers to be active in this area. In fact, some commercial Chinese newspapers are greatly influenced by a handful of advertisers. For instance, real estate advertisements represent a great share of revenue for Sing Tao Jih Pao. And Sing Tao's editorial rarely criticizes the speculative activities in the property market. Wah Kiu Yat Po also rarely criticizes business or social organizations for their various malpractice. These phenomena are coherent with the long tradition that Hong Kong

Chinese newspapers are strictly commercially oriented. Wah Kiu
Yat Po and Sing Tao Jih Pao, being commercial newspapers and
claiming as such, certainly will speak for the interests of the
commercial sectors.

Hong Kong publishers are also perceived to pay great
attention to contents contradictory to their personal political
views. A quarter of the surveyed editors perceive high
probability that their publishers get involved in this content.
Another 30% of the editors perceive as "probable" publishers'
activities in news contents contradictory to their views. Only
18.7% of the editors perceive as "improbable" that their
publishers would get involved in this content. Hong Kong has for
a long time been the stage for the struggle between the
Nationalists and the Communists. Both sides tend to use the Hong
Kong commercial Chinese newspapers to strengthen their
propaganda works. During the Sino-British negotiations on Hong
Kong's future between September 1982 to September 1984, both
sides made every effort to gain support from commercial Chinese
newspapers. Publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers, for a
long time holding a neutral political stand against any outside
pressure, are very cautious and constantly keeping an eye on
their content, making sure that no contents or editorials
deviate from their political viewpoints. In this context,
publishers are politically-oriented.

Private business and personal relatives rank third and fourth as being highly probable to be the publisher's concerns. Almost half (45%) of the surveyed editors perceive their publishers as being probable to get involved in contents with opinions disadvantageous to publisher's other businesses. Publishers getting involved in contents against publishers' relatives are perceived as likely by almost half of the editors. Twenty-seven per cent and 25% of the surveyed editors respectively perceive their publishers as improbable to get involved in editorial decisions related to the other business or their relatives. Among the 14 commercial Chinese newspapers under study, only Sing Tao Jih Pao and Sing Tao Man Pao are -----
publicly listed in the stock market. The rest of the 12 newspapers are privately owned. In most cases, publishers are the sole owners or the biggest shareholders. They bear the investment risks and carry every legal and financial commitment. It is natural that publishers will have the same commercial expectations towards their newspapers as proprietors of other commercial enterprises. A publisher, therefore, will not want his newspaper to carry any material which may cause harm to his other enterprises. By the same token, he is not willing to be embarrassed by any news related to his relatives. In this context, publishers are self-oriented.

Table 3 also shows that publishers are less concerned, as perceived by the editors, with criticizing the government or

politicians, social welfare, and general feature articles.

Although the subject matters of these contents are the concern of the public at large, publishers are perceived to pay less attention to them. This may be an indication of the degree of press freedom enjoyed in Hong Kong, where criticism of government activities rarely brings along any embarrassment to the publisher.

In sum, publishers are perceived to be commercially, politically, and self oriented. They are concerned with, and in fact take part in editorial decisions in these three areas of news content. On the other hand, they are perceived as much less involved in contents criticizing the government or in social welfare.

II. PUBLISHERS' ACTIVITIES IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

Publishers' activities in editorial decision making are perceived to be higher in non-routine situations than in routine situations.

Table 4

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Situations	Perceived Publisher Activity				Total
	Always	Occasionally	Seldom	None	
Routine	11	48	33	8	100
Non-Routine	37	46	13	4	100

Table 4 shows that 11% of the surveyed editors perceive that their publishers are 'always' actively involved in editorial decisions in routine situations. This percentage rises to 37% in non-routine situations. The cumulative percentage of perceived publisher activity as 'always' active and 'occasionally' active is up to 80% in non-routine situations from 60% in routine situations. Only 17% of editors 'seldom' or 'never' perceive publisher activity in non-routine situations. This distribution indicates that publishers, as perceived by their editors, are more active in non-routine situations than in routine situations.

B. Clarity of Instructions

Publishers' instructions in editorial decisions are perceived to be more explicit in non-routine situations than in routine situations.

Table 5

CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Situations	Clarity of Instructions				Total
	Very Explicit	Explicit	Implicit	Very Implicit	
Routine	11	63	9	17	100
Non-Routine	18	68	5	9	100

Table 5 shows that the majority of editors tend to perceive 'explicit' publisher instructions in routine (74%) and non-routine situations (86%). The proportion of explicit instructions are much higher in non-routine situations, however.

C. Channels Used to Give Instructions

On the channels publishers use to give instructions - formal channels, informal channels and conference channels. non-response rates for the questions range from 19% to a high of 47%. Due to this high rate of non-response, this researcher has decided not to elaborate further on these data nor to conduct any hypothesis testing. The frequency of use of the three types of channels, which publishers are perceived to be using in routine and non-routine situations, is given in Appendix 6.

III. TYPES OF PUBLISHERS IN EDITORIAL DECISIONS

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

As far as perceived publisher activity in editorial decisions is concerned, two types of publishers can be identified: the 'situational' and the 'consistent'.

1. Situational

Publishers, as perceived by 52 surveyed editors, vary in frequency of involvement in editorial decisions according to the situations. Less than half of the editors (45%) perceive their publishers to be more active in non-routine situations if they

are already perceived as active in routine situations. Only seven editors perceive the phenomenon in the opposite direction.

As shown in Table 6, three editors who perceive their publishers as 'always' involved in editorial decisions in routine situations perceive their publishers as only 'occasionally' involved in non-routine situations. And, two from 'occasionally' in routine to 'seldom' in non-routine situations, and two 'seldom' in routine to 'none' in non-routine situations.

Table 6

CHANGES OF PERCEIVED PUBLISHERS' ACTIVITIES
IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Non-Routine Situations	Routine Situations			
	Always	Occasionally	Seldom	None
Always	-	19	8	2
Occasionally	3	-	12	3
Seldom	0	2	-	1
None	0	0	2	-

Table 6 shows that the 19 editors who perceive their publishers to be 'occasionally' active in routine editorial decision-making situations perceive their publishers to be 'always' active in non-routine situations. On the other hand, though 26 editors perceive that their publishers are 'seldom' or

'none' involved in routine situations, all of them think that their publishers are more active in editorial decisions in non-routine situations.

2. Consistent

Nearly half of the surveyed editors (47) perceive that publishers are consistent in their involvement in editorial decisions in routine as well as in non-routine situations, regardless of the level of perceived involvement.

Table 7

PUBLISHER ACTIVITY PERCEIVED AS CONSISTENT IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Routine Situations			
Non-Routine Situations		Always	Occasionally	Seldom	None
	Always	8			
	Occasionally		27		
	Seldom			10	
	None				2

Table 7 shows that eight of the surveyed editors say their publisher 'always' give their opinions in editorial decisions in both routine and non-routine situations. Twenty-seven say publishers give their opinions 'occasionally' under both situations. Ten say publishers 'seldom' give views, and the remaining two say publishers never give any opinion about editorial decisions regardless of the situations.

B. Clarity of Instructions

In terms of the clarity of publisher instructions, again, two types - situational and consistent - can be identified.

1. Situational

In this survey, 24 editors perceive their publishers to have changed their clarity of instructions in different situations. About one-fifth (21) perceived the instructions given as more explicit in non-routine situations than in routine situations.

Table 8

CHANGES OF PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S INSTRUCTIONS
CLARITY IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Non-Routine Situations	Routine Situations			
	Very Explicit	Very Explicit	Very Implicit	Very Implicit
Very Explicit	-	8	1	0
Explicit	2	-	4	6
Implicit	0	0	0	2
Very Implicit	1	0	0	-

Table 8 shows that eight editors perceive their publishers to give explicit instructions in routine situations and 'very explicit' instructions in non-routine situations. And another five editors perceive their publishers to give implicit instructions in routine situations and 'explicit' instructions

in non-routine situations. On the other hand, eight editors perceive their publishers to give 'very implicit' instructions in routine situations. Six of them perceive 'explicit' instructions in non-routine situations. Only three editors' perception of clarity of instructions has changed in the opposite direction. These three editors perceive their publishers to give 'very explicit' instructions in routine situations, and 'explicit' or 'very implicit' instructions in non-routine situations.

2. Consistent

More than half of surveyed editors (69) perceive their publishers' clarity of instructions as consistent in routine and non-routine situations. Fifty-nine editors say their publishers' instructions are explicit in both routine and non-routine situations. The other 10 editors perceive 'implicit' instructions in both situations.

Table 9

PUBLISHER'S INSTRUCTION CLARITY PERCEIVED AS
CONSISTENT IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

	Routine Situations			
	Very Explicit	Explicit	Very Implicit	Very Implicit
Non-Routine Situations	-----			
Very Explicit	8			
Explicit		51		
Implicit			3	3
Very Implicit				7

Table 9 shows that eight editors perceived 'very explicit' instructions across two different situations. The majority of surveyed editors (51) perceive publishers to be giving explicit instructions all the time. A small number (3 and 7) of the editors perceive publishers as giving implicit and very implicit instructions in routine and non-routine situations.

Chapter 5

EDITORS' OCCUPATIONAL ROLES AND PUBLISHERS' ACTIVITIES

This study has found no statistically significant difference in editors' occupational roles with respect to the editors' perception of publishers' activities.

I. EDITORS' POSITIONS

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

The position an editor holds is closely related to his ability to perceive publisher activity. Having worked at the Sunday Times, an affiliated group of London Times, for fourteen years, Harold Evans, as the paper's chief editor, perceived easily how the publisher interfered in editorial decisions (Evans 1993). The managing editor of the New York Times could also perceive how a good piece of news being trimmed down from a front-page story to a few column inches in an inside page under the long shadow of the publisher (Talese 1970, P.5). This researcher's personal experience also supports such a relationship. As an assistant to the publisher and news editor, this researcher can perceive more publisher activity than the other editors in junior positions. Senior editors, because of

the advantage of their positions in the organizational structure, do see the publisher more frequently and have more direct contacts with them. Usually the publisher also has to communicate with them first before he passes the instruction downwards to the staff. It is therefore hypothesized that:

- H1. In routine and non-routine situations, editors in higher positions perceive higher frequency of publisher activity than editors in lower positions.

Table 10a

EDITORS' POSITIONS AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONSS

		Editors' Positions			
		Senior (n=29)		Junior (n=71)	
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	51.7%	(15)	62%	(44)
	Low	48.3%	(14)	38%	(27)

Chi square=0.52; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.

In routine situations, senior editors' perception of publisher activity is similar. While 51.7% of senior editors perceive high publisher activity, 48.3% of senior editors perceive low publisher activity. For the junior editors, a greater proportion of them tend to perceive higher publisher activity. Sixty-two per cent of them perceive high publisher

activity and 38% perceive low activity. Quite contrary to Hypothesis 1, a greater proportion of junior editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity (62%) than senior editors (51.7%).

Table 10b

EDITORS' POSITIONS AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Positions		
		Senior (n=29)	Junior (n=71)	Junior (n=71)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	78.6% (22)	84.5% (60)	84.5% (60)
	Low	21.4% (6)	15.5% (11)	15.5% (11)

Chi square=0.16; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.

In non-routine situations, both senior and junior editors perceive higher frequency of publisher activity. More than three quarters of senior editors (78.6%) perceive high frequency of publisher activity and 21.4% of them perceive low frequency. For junior editors, 84.5% perceive high frequency of activity and 15.5% perceive low frequency. The ratio between senior and junior editors in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity is closer in non-routine situations than in routine situations.

Since the observed differences are not statistically significant, Hypothesis 1 is rejected in both routine and non-routine situations, although more senior editors perceive higher frequency of publisher activity in non-routine situations. In routine situations, only 51.7% of senior editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity. This proportion rises sharply in non-routine situations to 78.6%. Junior editors who perceive high frequency of publisher activity, also increased by 22.5% up to 84.5% in non-routine situations. All editors, regardless of their positions, perceive higher frequency of publisher activity in non-routine situations than in routine situations.

B. Clarity of Instructions

Many senior editors seem to perceive more explicit instructions from publishers than junior editors. The experience of Harold Evans of London Times, the former news controller of a Hong Kong television station and this researcher seems to support this observation. The reason is that a publisher has to ensure that his senior editors understand his intention or instruction clearly so that they know how to make routine or non-routine decisions without bothering the publisher.

- H2. In routine and non-routine situations, editors in higher positions perceive more explicit instructions from publishers than editors in lower positions.

Table 11a

EDITORS' POSITIONS AND CLARITY OF
INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Positions	
		Senior (n=29)	Junior (n=68)
Clarity of Instructions	Explicit	82.8% (24)	70.6% (48)
	Implicit	17.2% (5)	29.4% (20)

Chi square=1.00; df=1; $P>0.05$; N.S.

Table 11a shows that most of the senior and junior editors perceive explicit instructions rather than implicit instructions. Senior editors have a slightly higher proportion (82.8%) in perceiving explicit instructions than junior editors (70.6%). The difference between them is 12.2%.

Table 11b

Editors' Positions and Clarity of
Instructions in Non-Routine Situations

		Editors' Positions	
		Senior (n=28)	Junior (n=68)
Clarity of Instructions	Explicit	85.7% (24)	85.3% (58)
	Implicit	14.3% (4)	14.7% (10)

Chi square=0.0; df=1; $P>0.05$; N.S.

Table 11b shows that both senior and junior editors have more or less the same proportion in perceiving explicit instructions. Close to 90% of senior editors and 85.3% of junior editors perceive explicit instructions.

Hypothesis 2 is rejected. In routine situations, when 82.8% of senior editors perceive explicit instructions, 70.6% of junior editors indicate that they perceive explicit instructions too. The difference is 12.2%. In non-routine situations, the difference is further reduced to a 0.4%. These seem to show that positions have little to do with perceived clarity of instructions, whereas when situations change the proportion of junior editors perceiving explicit instructions does tend to increase as the circumstances may require the publisher to ensure their instructions being clearly understood.

II. EDITORS' POSITIONS AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

Organization scholars suggest that flat organizational structure provides a wider span of control, which means every individual editor is most directly answerable to the publisher (Carzo and Yanouzas 1969, P.179). This kind of management will no doubt increase an editor's perceptions of publisher activity in editorial decision-making. In the tall structure, it provides a narrower span of control, suggesting an individual editor answerable to his immediate supervisor. Theoretically,

only the chief editor can perceive publisher activity directly and frequently. The rest of the editors perceive through indirect channels except in face-to-face conferences. It is hypothesized that organizational structures have some effect on the perception of publisher activity. And on the basis of assumption of senior positions perceiving higher frequency of publisher activity, it is hypothesized that senior editors perceive greater publisher activity in flat structures than in tall structures.

H3. In routine and non-routine situations, editors in higher positions perceive higher frequency of publisher activity in flat news organizations than in tall news organization.

Table 12a

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND EDITORS' POSITIONS BY PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structures					
Positions		Tall (n=43)			Flat (n=57)		
		Senior	Junior	Junior	Senior	Junior	Junior
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	40%	40%	57.6%	57.9%	65.3%	65.8%
		(4)	(19)	(19)	(11)	(0)	(25)
	Low	60%	42.4%	42.4%	42.1%	34.2%	34.2%
		(6)	(14)	(14)	(8)	(13)	(13)
		Chi square=0.37			Chi square=0.05		
		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.			df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		

In routine situations, publisher activity is perceived higher in flat structures than in tall structures. And a greater proportion of junior editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity than senior editors in tall and flat structures. Four out of ten senior editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity in the tall structures. The proportion jumps to 57.9% in the flat structures. The proportion of junior editors who perceive high frequency of publisher activity rises to 65.8% in flat structures from 57.6% in tall structures. In tall structures, junior editors have greater proportion than senior editors in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity. In flat structures, a greater proportion of junior editors than senior editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity.

Table 12b

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND EDITORS' POSITIONS BY PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structures					
Position		Tall (n=42)			Flat (n=57)		
		Senior	Junior	Senior	Senior	Junior	Junior
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	55.6% (5)	78.8% (26)		89.5% (17)	89.5% (34)	
	Low	44.4% (4)	21.2% (7)		10.5% (2)	10.5% (4)	
		Chi square=0.95;			Chi square=0.0;		
		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.			df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		

In non-routine situations, both senior and junior editors perceive higher frequency of publisher activity in flat structures than in tall structures. And more junior editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity than senior editors in tall structures. There are 89.5% of senior editors perceiving high frequency of publisher activity in the flat structures compared with 55.6% in the tall structures. The percentage of junior editors perceiving high frequency of publisher activity rises by 10.7% from tall to flat structures. In all, nearly 90% of the editors in flat structures perceive high frequency of publisher activity compared with 10.5% of the editors who perceive low activity. The situation in the tall structures is more moderate than that in the flat structures. Senior editors are split among themselves in perceiving high and low frequency of publisher activity. Junior editors, however, are quite different; a greater proportion of them (78.8%) perceive high frequency of publisher activity and only 21.2% perceive low frequency of publisher activity.

Although Hypothesis 3 is not supported, table 12a and 12b suggest that, editors in flat organizational structures do perceive more publisher activity than editors in tall structures and in routine situations more junior editors than senior editors in both flat and tall structures perceive more publisher activity. This phenomenon warrants further research attention.

B. Clarity of Instructions

In Hypothesis 3, senior editors are hypothesized to perceive higher frequency of publisher activity in flat structures than in tall structure, it is further assumed as senior editors have more opportunities to interact with their publishers, this same pattern should also hold in their perception of more explicit instructions. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed.

- H4. In routine and non-routine situations, editors in higher positions perceive more explicit instructions in flat structure than in tall structure.

Table 13a

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES' AND EDITORS' POSITIONS BY CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structures							
		Tall (n=42)				Flat (n=55)			
Positions		senior	junior	senior	junior	senior	junior	senior	junior
		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Clarity of Instructions	Explicit	90%	68.8%			78.9%	72.2%		
		(9)	(22)			(15)	(26)		
	Implicit	10%	31.2%			21.1%	27.8%		
		(1)	(10)			(4)	(10)		
		Chi square=0.85024				Chi square=0.04794;			
		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.				df=1; P>0.05; N.S.			

In routine situations, more senior editors perceive explicit instructions in tall structures (90%) than in flat structures (78.9%). The pattern for junior editors is just the other way round. Slightly higher proportion of junior editors (72.2%) perceive explicit instructions in flat instructures than in tall structures (68.8%). And senior editors perceive more explicit instructions than junior editors in both tall and flat structures. The proportion of senior editors who perceive explicit instructions is 90% against 68.8% of junior editors in tall structure. In flat structures, 78.9% of senior editors perceive explicit instructions against 72.2% of junior editors. The difference between senior and junior editors in tall structure (21.2%) is much larger than the difference (6.7%) between them in flat structures.

Table 13b

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND EDITORS' POSITIONS
BY CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structures			
Positions		Tall (n=41)		Flat (n=55)	
		Senior	Junior	Senior	Junior
Clarity of Instructions	Explicit	79.8% (7)	81.3% (26)	89.5% (17)	88.9% (32)
	Implicit	22.2% (2)	18.7% (6)	10.5% (2)	11.1% (4)
		Chi square=0.0;		Chi square=0.0	
		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.	

In non-routine situations, editors perceive more explicit instructions in flat structures than in tall structures. In tall structures, junior editors perceive slightly more explicit instructions than senior editors but vice versa in flat structures. The proportion of senior editors perceiving explicit instructions is 79.8% against 81.3% of junior editors in tall structure. In flat structure, 89.5% of senior editors perceive explicit instructions against 88.9% of junior editors. The differences between senior editors and junior editors in tall and flat structures are 1.5% and 0.6% respectively. There is no statistically significant difference between senior and junior editors in tall and flat structures whatsoever.

Hypothesis 4 is rejected. Editors' perceptions in tall and flat structures under routine and non-routine situations are largely different. In a tall structure under a routine situation, there is a wide difference (21.2%) in perceiving explicit instructions between senior and junior editors. In a flat structure, the difference is only 6.7%. But under non-routine situations, all differences in tall and flat structures are further eliminated. The difference in tall structure is reduced to 1.5%. The difference in flat structure is reduced to 0.6%.

III. EDITORS' CAREER ORIENTATIONS

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

Cantor's study of TV producers found that different career orientations result in different attitudes towards interference in production (Wright 1975, P.70). In the case of editors, the professionally-orientated editors may be very sensitive to any publisher activity. He may find it hard to bear with such activity in editorial decision making. He will then naturally perceive more publisher activity. For the non-professional editors, particularly the job-oriented editors, they will carry out what the boss tells them to do (Saemann 1972, P.141) and do not regard it as a kind of publisher activity.

- H5. In routine and non-routine situations, professionally- oriented editors perceive higher frequency of publisher activity than non-professionally oriented editors.

Table 14a

EDITORS' CAREER ORIENTATIONS AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Career Orientations		
		Job (n=22)	Interest (n=65)	Professional (n=11)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	50% (11)	56.9% (37)	81.8% (9)
	Low	50% (11)	43.1% (28)	18.2% (2)

Chi square=3.17; df=2; P>0.05; N.S.

In routine situations, among editors of different types of career orientations, the professionally-oriented editors have the greatest proportion in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity. Over 80% of professionally-oriented editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity against 18.2% in low perception. The interest-oriented writer-editors are the second largest group in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity. Well over 50% of writer-editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity, and 43.1% of them perceive low frequency of publisher activity. For job-oriented editors, far fewer of them perceive high frequency of publisher activity. Half of them perceive high publisher activity and half of them perceive low frequency of publisher activity.

Table 14b

EDITORS' CAREER ORIENTATIONS AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Career Orientations							
		Job (n=22)	Interest (n=2)	Interest (n=64)	Professional (n=64)	Professional (n=11)	Professional (n=11)		
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	81.8%	50%	82.8%	3%	90%	90.9%	(18)	(10)
	Low	18.2%	50%	17.2%	97%	9.1%	9.1%	(4)	(1)

Chi square=0.50; df=2; P>0.05; N.S.

In non-routine situations, the editors of all three types of career orientations increase their proportion of perceiving high frequency of publisher activity. Professionally-oriented editors increase from 81.8% to 90.9%. Interest-oriented writer-editors increase from 56.9% to 82.8%. Job-oriented editors increase from 50.0% to 81.8%. The differences among the three types are greatly narrowed. The range of difference is only 9.1% from professionally-oriented to job-oriented editors. In routine situations, the range of difference is 31.8%.

Hypothesis 5 cannot be verified. Although professionally-oriented editors have a greater proportion in perceiving high activity than non-professionally-oriented editors in routine situations, the total number of professionally-oriented editors is alarmingly small.

B. Clarity of Instructions

As professionally-oriented editors cherish more highly journalistic goals and values, their tolerance for publisher activity in editorial decision-making is expected to be low. Being sensitive to publisher activity, they may regard any instruction from the publisher as explicit.

Non-professionally-oriented editors are less sensitive in this area. From the publisher's point of view, he gets to make his view clearly known to professionally-oriented editors otherwise they may not follow his instructions. For

non-professionally-oriented editors, the publisher knows they care about their rice bowls first, so they will follow any hints from publisher. No explicit instruction is needed in this case.

It is thus hypothesized:

- H6. In routine and non-routine situations, professionally-oriented editors perceive more explicit instructions than non-professionally-oriented editors.

Table 15a

EDITORS' CAREER ORIENTATIONS AND CLARITY
OF INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Career Orientations		
		Job	Interest	Professional
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	63.6%	74.2%	90.9%
		(14)	(46)	(10)
	Implicit	36.4%	25.8%	9.1%
		(8)	(16)	(1)

Chi square=3.93; df=2; P>0.05; N.S.

In routine situations, professionally-oriented editors have the highest proportions in perceiving explicit instructions. Interest-oriented writer-editors rank second and job-oriented editors third. There are wide differences among the proportions of these three types of editors. The difference in the proportion of perceiving explicit instructions between

professionally-oriented and job-oriented editors is 27.3%. The difference between professional and interest-oriented editors is 16.7%.

Table 15b

EDITORS' CAREER ORIENTATIONS AND CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Career Orientation			
		Job (n=21)	Interest (n=62)	Professional (n=)	Professional (n=11)
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	81% (17)	83.9% (52)	100% (11)	100% (11)
	Implicit	19% (4)	16.1% (10)	0% (0)	0% (0)

Chi square=2.28; Df=2; P>0.05; N.S.

In non-routine situations, all of the professionally-oriented editors perceive explicit instructions. Over 80% of the interest-oriented and job-oriented editors perceive explicit instructions. The differences among the types of editors in perceiving explicit instruction are narrow. There is only 2.9% difference between job and interest-oriented editors. The difference between professionally and interest-oriented editors is 16.1%.

H3 cannot be verified, although professionally-oriented editors have the highest proportion in perceiving explicit

instructions in both routine and non-routine situations. In routine situations, 90.9% of professionally-oriented editors perceive explicit instructions, while in non-routine situations, the percentage rises to 100%. The other two types of editors, job-oriented and interest-oriented, show less extreme distribution on explicit and implicit instructions in routine situations. But in non-routine situations, the proportions of non-professionally-oriented editors in perceiving explicit instructions also increase in the same way as professionally-oriented editors.

Chapter 6

EDITORS' SOCIALIZATION IN ORGANIZATION AND PUBLISHERS' ACTIVITIES

This chapter presents findings on the relationship between editors' socialization in organization and perception of publishers' activities. Again, no statistically significant differences have been found.

I. SOCIALIZATION AND PUBLISHER ACTIVITY

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

Warren Breed (1955, P.333) observes that when one joins an organization, one will be gradually socialized by the organization. Breed classifies this socialization process into three stages in terms of one's length of service. The longer one serves in an organization, the more experience he gains in enabling him to understand and to perceive what is happening in the organization. It is, therefore, hypothesized that the longer an editor has served in an organization, the higher the publisher activity being perceived.

- H7. In routine and non-routine situations, editors with longer service tend to perceive higher frequency of publisher activity than editors with shorter service.

Table 16a

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND PERCEIVED
PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Length of Service		
		Long (n=34)	Short (n=63)	Short (n=63)
Perceived Publisher activity	High	61.8% (21)	57.1% (36)	57.1% (36)
	Low	38.2% (13)	42.9% (27)	42.9% (27)

Chi square=0.05; df=1; $P>0.05$; N.S.

In routine situations, Table 16a shows little difference between editors of long and short service in perceiving frequency of publisher activity. Six out of ten editors of long service perceive high frequency of publisher activity. The proportion of editors of short service to perceive high frequency of publisher activity is 57.1%. The difference between the two groups is only 4.7%.

Table 16b

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND PERCEIVED
PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Length of Service		
		Long (n=34)	Short (n=62)	Short (n=62)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	82.4% (28)	82.3% (51)	82.3% (51)
	Low	17.6% (6)	17.7% (11)	17.7% (11)

Chi square=0.0; df=1; $P>0.05$; N.S.

In non-routine situations, Table 16b shows that there is only 0.1% difference between long and short service editors in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity. The proportion of long service editors to perceive high frequency of publisher activity is 82.4%. The proportion of short service editors to perceive high frequency of publisher activity is 82.3%.

Hypothesis 7 cannot be verified. Editors, either with long or short service, have more or less the same proportions in perceiving publisher activity. In non-routine situations, the difference of perceiving high frequency of publisher activity among long and short service editors is further reduced.

B. Clarity of Instructions

On the process of socialization in news organization, Breed (1955) mentions that long service editors know more newspaper policy than short service editors. This researcher further deduces from Breed's study that 'know more' shall include perceiving more explicit instructions. Since some publishers may not give explicit instructions everyday, They may give explicit instructions occasionally. Long service editors may have more opportunities to perceive explicit instructions than short service editors.

- H3. In routine and non-routine situations, editors with long service tend to perceive more explicit instructions than editors with shorter service.

Table 17a

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND CLARITY
OF INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Length of Service	
		Long (n=32)	Short (n=62)
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	78.1%	71%
		(25)	(44)
	Implicit	21.9%	29%
		(7)	(18)

Chi square=0.24; df=1; $P>0.05$; N.S.

In routine situations, Table 17a shows that editors, regardless of their length of service, perceive more explicit than implicit instructions. Long service editors (78.1%) perceive slightly more explicit instructions than short service editors (71%). The difference, only 7.1%, however, is not statistically significant.

Table 17b

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND CLARITY
OF INSTRUCTIONS IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Length of Service	
		Long (n=32)	Short (n=61)
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	90.6%	82%
		(29)	(50)
	Implicit	9.4%	18%
		(3)	(11)

Chi square=0.64; df=1; $P>0.05$; N.S.

In non-routine situations, Table 17b shows that proportions of editors perceiving explicit instructions has increased than that in routine situations. Nine out of ten long-service editors perceive explicit instructions whereas eight out of ten short-service editors perceive explicit instructions too. The difference between long and short service editors in perceiving explicit instructions is 8.6%.

H8 is not retained. The findings suggest that both long-service and short-service editors perceive more explicit instructions than implicit instructions in both routine and non-routine situations.

II. LENGTH OF SERVICE AND MEDIA EXPERIENCE

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

While an editor's socialization in an organization may influence his perception, it should not be limited to this news organization per se. Seemann (1971, P.276) argues that socialization does not start from the newsroom as a black reporter may have been well socialized before he joins a particular black newspaper. He may already uphold certain values and goals similar to the policy of the black daily. In other words, editors' socialization in fact has started from other places and in other newsrooms. Thus one's experience in other media may enable him to learn fast and easily the rules and operation of the machinery of the present news organization,

although one's service in this organization may not be long. Therefore, it becomes meaningful for us to test whether one's experience in other media will intervene in one's perception of publisher activity.

H9. In routine and non-routine situations, editors with long service in present news organizations and with more media experience in other news organizations perceive higher frequency of publisher activity than those with short service and less media experience.

Table 18a

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND MEDIA
EXPERIENCE BY PERCEIVED PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Media Experience					
		More Media Experience (n=45)			Less Media Experience (n=52)		
Length of Service	of	Long	Short	Short	Long	Short	Short
		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	57.1% (8)	67.7% (21)	67.7% (21)	65% (13)	46.9% (15)	46.9% (15)
	Low	42.9% (6)	32.3% (10)	32.3% (10)	35% (7)	53.1% (17)	53.1% (17)
		Chi square=0.12; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.			Chi square=0.97; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		

In routine situations, Table 18a shows a great difference between more media experience and less media experience of short service editors. It means that more than 20.8% of editors with

short service but more media experience perceive high frequency of publisher activity than short service editors without much media experience. For long service editors, media experience does not have any effect in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity. The difference between long and short service editors in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity is 7.9%.

Table 18b

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND MEDIA
EXPERIENCE BY PERCEIVED PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Length of Service		Editors' Media Experience					
		More Media Experience (n=44)		Less Media Experience (n=52)		Less Media Experience (n=52)	
		Long	Short	Long	Long	Short	Short
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	85.7% (12)	86.7% (26)	80% (16)	80% (16)	78.1% (25)	78.1% (25)
	Low	14.3% (2)	13.3% (4)	20% (4)	20% (4)	21.9% (7)	21.9% (7)
		Chi square=0.0;		Chi square=0.0;		Chi square=0.0;	
		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.	

In non-routine situations, Table 18b shows no statistically significant difference between the editor's length of service and media experience in perceiving frequency of publisher activity. The difference of perceiving high frequency of

publisher activity 79 between more media experience and less media experience of long service editors is 5.7%. The difference between more media experience and less media experience of short service editors is 8.6%. All editors have perceived a proportion of around 80% high frequency of publisher activity in non-routine situations. Hypothesis 9 cannot be verified. An editor's media experience has no intervening effects on perceived publisher activity by editors' length of service. Editors who have more media experience does enable them to perceive high frequency of publisher activity in routine situations although they only have short service in present news organizations. The proportion of perceiving high frequency of publisher activity of short service with more media experience editors is 67.7% against 46.9% of short service with less media experience editors.

B. Clarity of Instructions

An editor with more media experience will usually have learned more about news operations in other news organizations. Such experience is, of course, counted toward one's process of socialization. If one has more media experience in addition to having long service in the present news organization, he may perceive more explicit instruction than those with shorter media experience. It is hypothesized that:

- H10. In routine and non-routine situations, editors with longer service and more media experience tend to perceive explicit instructions than those with shorter service and more media experience.

Table 19a

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND MEDIA EXPERIENCE
BY CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Media Experience			
		More Media Experience (n=44)		Less Media Experience (n=50)	
Length of Service		Long	Short	Long	Short
Clarity of instruction	Explicit	76.9%	71%	78.9%	71%
		(10)	(22)	(15)	(22)
	Implicit	23.1%	29%	21.1%	29%
		(3)	(9)	(4)	(9)
		Chi square=0.00;		Chi square=0.08;	
		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.	

In routine situations, Table 19a shows no statistically significant difference whatsoever in terms of an editor's length of service and media experience in perceiving the clarity of publisher instructions. For long service and more media experience editors, 76.9% of them perceive explicit instructions. For long service and less media experience editors, 78.9% of them perceive explicit instructions. For short-service but with more media experience and less-media-experience editors, their perceptions of explicit instructions are at the same proportion of 71%.

Table 21b

EDITORS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AND MEDIA EXPERIENCE BY
CLARITY OF INSTRUCTION IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Editors' Media Experience					
		More Media Experience (n=44)		Less Media Experience (n=49)	
Length of Service		Long	Short	Long	Short
		-----	-----	-----	-----
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	92.9%	86.7%	88.9%	77.4%
		(13)	(26)	(16)	(24)
	Implicit	7.1%	13.3%	11.1%	22.6%
		(1)	(4)	(2)	(7)
		-----	-----	-----	-----
		Chi square=0.00;		Chi square=0.38;	
		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		df=1; P>0.05; N.S.	

In non-routine situations, Table 19b shows again no statistically significant difference in terms of an editor's length of service and media experience. The difference of long service editors between more media-experience and less media-experience is only 4%, whereas difference of short-service editors between more media-experience and less media-experience is 9.3%. H10 cannot be verified. This finding shows that an editor's media experience has no intervening effect on the perception of the clarity of publisher instructions.

Chapter 7

EDITORS' ASSESSMENT OF PUBLISHERS AND PUBLISHERS' ACTIVITIES

Chapter 2 and 3 have discussed the possible impact of editors' assessment of publishers -- in terms of esteem held for publishers, congruence with publishers' political views, and perceived publisher's editorial experience -- on the frequencies of perceived publisher activity and clarity of publisher's instructions. Findings about these relationships are presented in this chapter.

I. ESTEEM HELD FOR PUBLISHERS

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

Esteem is one of the variables that Breed (1955, P.330) attributes to the presence of pro-publisher editors in a news organization. Anderson and Murdock (1977, P.16) suggest that the publisher will select editors with whom they feel philosophically compatible. Stark's case study also concurs that only the pro-publisher journalist will be appointed as editor so as to implement the publishers's policy with ease (Elliott 1977, P.158). Esteem is one of the factors that figures

prominently in an editor's pro-publisher attitude, which in turn may contribute to this editor's promotion to a higher position. If higher position can perceive higher frequency of publisher's activity, it then follows that editors who hold their publishers in higher esteem perceive higher frequency of publisher activity.

- H11. In routine and non-routine situations, editors who hold publisher in high esteem perceive higher frequency of publisher activity than editors who hold publisher in low esteem.

Table 20a

EDITORS' ESTEEM FOR PUBLISHER AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Esteem for Publisher		
		High (n=50)	Low (n=14)	No Opinion (n=34)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	62% (31)	71.4% (10)	50% (17)
	Low	38% (19)	28.6% (4)	50% (17)

chi square=2.22; df=2; P>0.05; N.S.

Table 20a shows that in routine situations, 62% of the editors who hold high esteem for the publisher perceive high frequency of publisher activity. And 71.4% of editors who hold low esteem for the publisher perceive even higher frequency of publisher activity. For editors who do not express their stands, they split equally in perceiving high and low frequency

of publisher activity. Differences in the preception by these three groups of editors, however, are not statistically significant.

Table 20b

EDITORS' ESTEEM FOR PUBLISHER AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Esteem for Publisher			
		High (n=50)	Low (n=14)	No (n=33)	No Opinion (n=33)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	84% (42)	78.6% (11)	81.8% (27)	81.8% (27)
	Low	16% (8)	21.4% (3)	18.2% (6)	18.2% (6)

Chi square=0.23; Df=2; P>0.05, N.S.

Table 20b shows that in non-routine situations, most editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity regardless of the degree of esteem held for the publisher. Among them, 84% of the editors who hold high esteem for the publisher perceive high frequency of publisher activity. For editors who hold low esteem for the publisher, the proportion perceiving high frequency of publisher activity is 78.6%. For editors who have not expressed their views, 81.8% of them perceive high frequency of publisher activity. Hypothesis 11 cannot be supported.

B. Clarity of Instructions

Bakkes (1953, P.21) observes that the relationship between

people is a kind of reciprocal acceptance. In this context, when an editor regards his publisher as a "paternalistic employer", this editor will be regarded by the publisher as a "childlike employee". Thus, if an editor holds his publisher in high esteem, there would be a mutual acceptance between the editor and the publisher. Under such circumstances, these editors and their publishers would be expected to be in frequent direct exchanges of opinions. Thus they would have more opportunities to perceive explicit publisher instructions than those editors with low esteem for their publishers as the latter would shun any exchanges or contacts with the publishers.

H12: In routine and non-routine situations, editors who hold publisher in high esteem perceive explicit instructions from the publisher.

Table 21a

EDITORS' ESTEEM FOR PUBLISHER AND CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Esteem for Publisher		
		High (n=41)	Low (n=14)	No Opinion (n=34)
clarity of Instruction	Explicit	91.7% (44)	57.1% (8)	55.9% (19)
	Implicit	8.3% (4)	42.9% (6)	44.1% (15)
Chi square=15.63; df=2; P<0.05; N.S.				

Table 21a shows that in routine situations, a greater proportion of editors holding publishers in high esteem perceive explicit publisher instructions than editors holding low esteem for publishers (57.1%) or expressing no opinion towards the publisher (55.9%). For editors who hold low esteem for publishers and those who do not express their views, the proportions perceiving explicit publisher instructions do not differ as much as those perceiving implicit publisher instructions. For these groups of editors, each of which has a little more than 55% to perceive explicit publisher instructions. The Chi-square is 15.63 and the level of significance is 0.0004, a highly significant statistic. Yet, the value in one of the six cells is below five, making the statistic speculative.

Table 21b

EDITORS' ESTEEM FOR PUBLISHER AND CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Editors' Esteem for Publisher

	High (n=50)	Low (n=13)	No Opinion (n=32)
Explicit	98%	61.5%	75%
Clarity of Instruction	(49)	(8)	(24)
Implicit	2%	38.5%	25%
	(1)	(5)	(8)

Chi square=14.96; df=2; P<0.05; N.S.

In non-routine situations, again, editors with high esteem for publishers out-number editors with low esteem or no opinion for publishers in perceiving explicit publisher instructions. Almost a hundred per cent of the editors (98%) with high esteem for their publishers perceive explicit publisher instructions. For editors with low esteem for their publishers, 61.5% of them perceive explicit publisher instructions in non-routine situations. For those who do not show stands, three out of four perceive explicit publisher instructions. The Chi-square is 14.96, statistically significant at 0.0006. However since the value in one of the six cells is below 5, making the acceptance of the hypothesis risky.

II. CONGRUENCE WITH THE PUBLISHER'S POLITICAL VIEWS

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

The reasons that editors who are congruent with the publisher's political views will be promoted to a senior position have been given by Anderson and Murdock (1977) and Stark (Elliott 1977, P.58). Seemann (1971, P.276) records that when a journalist is about to join a newspaper, he will have identified himself with the newspaper policy. In Hong Kong, when one joined a particular newspaper in the period from 40's to the 60's that saw political struggles between the Nationalists and the Communists, one would have to consider whether one is in line with the political stand of the paper. It was particularly

true in the riotous year of 1967 when a newspaper's political stand became the stigma of all its personnel. People even judged one as a leftist, rightist or neutral by the political stand of the newspaper one read. Although the above-mentioned situations have since changed considerably, news people still have to give a second thought while joining some political newspapers. In the case of a commercial Chinese-language newspaper, this researcher knows that some journalists still take the congruence with the publisher's political views into account when they are gauging the rewards from a newspaper. This local political background has thus made worthy testing Hypothesis 13.

- H13. In routine and non-routine situations, editors who are congruent with the publisher's political views perceiving higher frequency of publisher activity than those who are not.

Table 22a

EDITORS' CONGRUENCE WITH PUBLISHER'S
POLITICAL VIEWS AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Congruence With Publisher's Political Views		
		Congruent (n=37)	Not Congruent (n=37)	No Opinion (n=24)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	67.6%	56.8%	45.8%
		(25)	(21)	(11)
	Low	32.4%	43.2%	54.2%
		(12)	(16)	(13)

Chi square=2.87; df=2; P>0.05; N.S.

Table 22a shows that in routine situations nearly seven out of ten editors, who are congruent with their publisher's political views, perceive high frequency of publisher activity. Slightly over half of the editors, who are not congruent with their publishers in political views, perceived high frequency of publisher activity. The difference between them is 10.8%. The proportion of editors who show no stands perceiving high frequency of publisher activity is 45.8%.

Table 22b

EDITORS' CONGRUENCE WITH PUBLISHER'S
POLITICAL VIEWS AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Congruence with Publisher's Political Views		
		Congruent (n=36)	Not Congruent (n=37)	No Opinion (n=24)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	88.7%	78.4%	79.2%
		(32)	(29)	(19)
	Low	11.1%	21.6%	10.8%
		(4)	(8)	(5)

Chi square=1.63; df=2; P>0.05; N.S.				

Table 22b shows that in general an greater proportion of editors perceive high frequency of publisher activity in non-routine situations. Close to 90% of editors who are congruent with their publisher's political views perceive high frequency of publisher activity in non-routine situations. Almost eight out of ten editors who are not congruent with their

publisher's political views perceive high frequency of publisher activity. So are the editors who have given no opinion on their publisher's political views.

Hypothesis 13 cannot be verified. Editors who are congruent with the publisher's political views have higher proportions both in routine and non-routine situations in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity than "incongruent" editors. But the differences are not statistically significant.

B. Clarity of Instructions

Publishers of commercial Chinese-language newspapers reiterate the policy of neutral stance between leftists and rightists. They appoint chief editors very carefully to ensure that these editors will carry out their politically neutral policy. Stark (Elliott 1977, P.158) also remarks that the appointment of the senior post will go to someone who holds the same ideology or view as the publisher. Since publishers and their senior editors are most likely to be congruent in their political views, the publishers may find it unnecessary to hide their intentions and feel less constrained in conveying their instructions. It is hypothesized that the congruence with the publisher's political views constitutes an element for editors to perceive explicit instructions.

- H14. In routine and non-routine situations, editors whose political views are congruent with their publisher's perceive more explicit instructions than those whose political views are not congruent with their publisher's.

Table 23a

EDITORS' PERCEIVED CONGRUENCE WITH
PUBLISHER'S POLITICAL VIEWS AND CLARITY OF
INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Congruence with Publisher's Political Views			
		Congruent (n=35)	Not Congruent (n=37)	No Opinion (n=24)	
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	82.9% (29)	73% (27)	62.5% (15)	62.5% (15)
	Implicit	17.1% (6)	27% (10)	37.5% (9)	37.5% (9)

Chi square=3.09; df=2; $P>0.05$; N.S.

In routine situations, editors whose political views are congruent with their publishers', 82.9% perceive explicit instructions, or a 9.9% higher than editors whose political views are not congruent with their publishers' but perceive explicit instructions. For those who do not want to reveal their stands, 62.5% perceive explicit instructions.

Table 23b

EDITORS' PERCEIVED CONGRUENCE WITH
PUBLISHER'S POLITICAL VIEWS AND CLARITY OF
INSTRUCTIONS IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Editors' Congruence With Publisher's Political Views			
		Congruent (n=35)	Not Congruent (n=36)	No Opinion (n=24)	
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	91.4% (32)	80.6% (29)	83.3% (20)	83.3% (20)
	Implicit	8.6% (3)	19.4% (7)	16.7% (4)	16.7% (4)

Chi square=1.76; df=2; $P>0.05$; N.S.

Nine out of ten editors, who are congruent with their publisher's political views perceive explicit instructions. Eight out of ten editors who are either incongruent with their publisher's political views or show no stands perceive explicit instructions. The difference between "congruent" and "incongruent" editors in perceiving explicit instructions is 10.8%, while the difference between "incongruent" editors and editors with no opinions in perceiving explicit instructions is 2.7%. The difference among the three types of editors in perceiving explicit instructions is not statistically significant and therefore H14 is rejected. It seems that editors are used to perceiving explicit instructions rather than implicit instructions in both routine and non-routine situations.

III. PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

Anderson and Murdock (1977) suggest that a publisher with editorial experience does not involve himself in editorial decisions. Constrained by journalistic ethics, he knows that by involving himself in editorial decisions, he will arouse dissatisfaction among journalists.

In Hong Kong, this researcher's experience and interviews with editors show that the opposite may be true, as publishers with editorial experience may feel more competent and confident in involving themselves in editorial decisions and many of the

Hong Kong journalists are not so much professionally oriented as their Western counterparts. The more editorial experience a publisher has, the higher frequency of publisher activity is to be perceived by his subordinates. Hypothesis 15, therefore, is set to test this aspect.

- H15. In routine and non-routine situations, publishers with editorial experience are perceived to have higher frequency of activity in editorial decisions than publishers without editorial experience.

Table 24a

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL
EXPERIENCE AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience	
		Yes (n=63)	No (n=26)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	57.1% (36)	69.2% (18)
	Low	42.9% (27)	30.8% (8)

Chi square=0.67; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.

In routine situations, over half (57%) of the editors perceive higher frequency of publisher activity in editorial decisions from an experienced publisher, while seven out of ten editors, who perceive their publishers to have no editorial experience, have perceived high frequency of publisher activity.

Table 24b

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL
EXPERIENCE AND PERCEIVED PUBLISHER
ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience	
		Yes (n=63)	No (n=25)
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	87.3% (55)	80% (20)
	Low	12.7% (8)	20% (5)

Chi square=0.28; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.

In non-routine situations, Table 24b shows that almost nine out of ten editors, who perceive their publishers as having editorial experience find high frequency of activity whereas 80% of the editors who perceive their publishers as inexperienced in editorial matters find high frequency of publisher activity.

Hypothesis 15 is therefore rejected. Table 24a shows that in routine situations publishers with no editorial experience are perceived to have higher frequency of activity in editorial decisions than publishers with editorial experience. But in non-routine situations, publishers with editorial experience have slightly higher activity than publishers with no editorial experience. Experienced publishers, as perceived by editors, are more active in non-routine situations than in routine situations. The difference between two situations is as wide as 30.2%. On the contrary, publishers with no editorial experience are perceived to be more active in routine situations than in non-routine situations.

B. Clarity of Instructions

For an experienced publisher, he knows every operation in the news organization. He may regard instructions as a kind of supervisions which by their nature shall be as explicit as possible (Bower 1967).

- H16. In routine and non-routine situations, publishers with editorial experience give more explicit instructions than publishers without editorial experience.

Table 25a

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE AND CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience

		Yes (n=62)	No (n=25)
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	82.3% (51)	60% (15)
	Implicit	17.7% (11)	40% (10)

Chi square=3.68; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.

In routine situations, Table 25a shows that 82.3% of editors perceive an experienced publisher to give explicit instructions. For publishers with no editorial experience, 60% of the editors perceive them to give explicit instructions. The findings show that an experienced publisher is more likely to give explicit instructions than an inexperienced publisher.

Table 25b

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL
EXPERIENCE AND CLARITY OF
INSTRUCTIONS IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience	
		Yes (n=62)	No (n=23)
Clarity of Instruction	Explicit	90.3% (56)	73.9% (17)
	Implicit	9.7% (6)	26.1% (6)

Chi square=2.49; df=1; $P>0.05$; N.S.

In non-routine situations, Table 25b shows that nine out of ten editors, who perceive the publisher as having editorial experience, say that their publishers give explicit instructions. Among editors who perceive their publishers to have no editorial experience, 73.9% say their publishers give explicit instructions.

H16 is rejected. Although publishers with editorial experience are more used to giving explicit instructions to editors in non-routine situations, publishers without editorial experience also have a very high rate too. It seems to suggest that publishers of commercial Chinese-language newspapers are used to giving explicit instructions whether they have or have not editorial experience. As long as they are the final authority in the news organizations, lacking editorial experience will not be a hurdle to prevent them from exercising it.

IV. PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

A. Perceived Publisher Activity

Luthans (1977) suggests that the top executive's activity is constrained by organizational structure. Publishers in flat organizational structures have to manage directly more subordinates than those in tall structures. Therefore, publishers will be perceived by editors to have higher frequency of activity in flat structures in comparison with those in tall structures. If an experienced publisher is hypothesized to have higher activity in editorial decisions, he will naturally have much higher activity in flat structures than in tall structures.

- H17. In routine and non-routine situations, publishers with editorial experience will have higher frequency of activity in the flat structure than in the tall structure.

Table 26a

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE
AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES BY PERCEIVED
PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structures					
		Tall (n=36)		Flat (n=53)		Flat (n=53)	
Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	60.9% (14)	53.8% (7)	55% (22)	84.6% (11)	55% (11)	84.6% (11)
	Low	39.1% (9)	46.2% (6)	45% (18)	15.4% (2)	45% (18)	15.4% (2)
		Chi square=0.00; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		Chi square=2.51; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.			

In routine situations, Table 26a shows a moderate difference in tall structure between editors who perceive their publishers to have editorial experience and editors who perceive their publishers to have no editorial experience. However, in flat structures, editors who perceive their publishers with no editorial experience are more likely to perceive high frequency of publisher activity (85%). Only 15.4% of them perceive low frequency of publisher activity. In tall structures, the difference of perceiving high frequency of publisher activity between experienced and inexperienced publishers is small. The difference is 7.1%.

Table 26b

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE
AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE BY PERCEIVED
PUBLISHER ACTIVITY IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structure			
		Tall (n=35)		Flat (n=53)	
Perceived Publisher's Publisher Experience		Yes	No	Yes	No
Perceived Publisher Activity	High	87% (20)	66.7% (8)	87.5% (35)	92.3% (12)
	Low	13% (3)	33.3% (4)	12.5% (5)	7.7% (1)
		Chi square= 0.95; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		Chi square=0.0; df=1; P>0.05; N.S.	

In non-routine situations, publishers, whether perceived as having experience or no experience in editorial matters, are perceived to have high frequency of activity in tall and flat structures. An experienced publisher, as perceived by editors, has a steady high frequency of activity in both structures. For inexperienced publishers, they are perceived by editors in great proportion (92.3%) to have high frequency of activity in flat structures, whereas only 66.7% of editors perceive them to have high frequency of activity in tall structures.

Hypothesis 17 is rejected. Organizational structure has no intervening effect between perceived publishers' editorial experience and perceived publisher activity.

B. Clarity of Instructions

The flat organizational structure provides a good opportunity for editors to perceive explicit instructions from the publisher. With fewer supervisory levels in the flat structure, the publisher with editorial experience can have more chances to instruct editors face-to-face and give more explicit instructions. In a tall structure, whether the publisher has editorial experience or not, the many supervisory levels would be a hindrance to his attempts to reach each editor. As assumed in Hypothesis 17 that organizational structures have intervening effect on perceived publisher's editorial experience and perceived publisher activity, it tests if it is applicable to the clarity of instructions or not.

- H18. In routine and non-routine situations, publishers with editorial experience are perceived to give more explicit instructions in flat structures than in tall structures.

Table 27a

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE AND
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE BY CLARITY OF
INSTRUCTIONS IN ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structures					
		Tall (n=36)			Flat (n=51)		
Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience	Clarity of Instruction	Yes	No		Yes	No	
	Explicit	91.3%	53.8%		76.9%	66.7%	
		(21)	(7)	(30)	(30)	(8)	
	Implicit	8.7%	46.2%		23.1%	33.3%	
		(2)	(6)	(9)	(9)	(4)	
		Chi square=4.74;			Chi square=0.11;		
		df=1; P<0.05; N.S.			df=1; P>0.05; N.S.		

In routine situations, Table 27a shows that the Chi-square value and level of significance would be good enough to retain the hypothesis in tall structures if all the cell numbers exceeded five. However, the trend is so clear that the publisher with editorial experience will give more explicit instructions than an inexperienced publisher. Moreover, editors perceive an experienced publisher to give more explicit instructions in tall structures (91.3%) than in flat structure (76.9%). The difference is 14.4%. The publisher perceived as inexperienced by editors shows contrary performance. Just over half of the editors (53.8%) perceive their publishers give explicit instructions in tall structures while in flat structures, 66.7%

of them perceive their publishers to give explicit instructions. In general, publishers with editorial experience give more explicit instructions than publishers with no editorial experience in both tall and flat structures.

Table 27b

PERCEIVED PUBLISHER'S EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES BY CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS IN NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

		Organizational Structures			
		Tall (n=34)		Flat (n=51)	
Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience	Clarity of Instruction	Yes	No	Yes	No
		Yes	No	Yes	No
	Explicit	86.4%	75%	92.5%	72.7%
		(19)	(9)	(37)	(8)
	Implicit	13.6%	25%	7.5%	27.3%
		(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Chi square=0.12;		Chi square=1.62;			
df=1; P>0.05;N.S.		df=1; P>0.05;N.S.			

Table 27b shows that in non-routine situations, editors perceive experienced publishers to give more explicit instructions in both tall structures (86.4%) and flat structures (92.5%) than publishers with no editorial experience (75% and 72.7% respectively). As perceived by editors, an experienced publisher gives slightly more explicit instructions in flat structure than in tall structures. The difference is only 6.1%. On the contrary, an inexperienced publisher gives slightly less

explicit instructions in flat structures than in tall structures. The difference is 2.3%.

H18 cannot be verified. Organizational structure is found to have no intervening effect between the perceived publisher's editorial experience and the clarity of instructions. An experienced publisher tends to give more explicit instructions in flat structure than those in tall structure only under non-routine situations. In routine situations, an experienced publisher will give more explicit instructions in tall structure than in flat structures.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study has tentatively identified the patterns of publishers' activities and publishers' involvements in deciding various contents of news. It has also found that publisher's activities are in general more frequent in non-routine situations than routine situations and these activities seem to be more explicit in non-routine situations as well. However, it has failed to find statistical significance between perceived publishers' activities and editors' occupational roles, socialization in organization and editors' assessment of publisher, which have all previously been asserted by researchers to have certain kind of relationships. The following pages will summarize the major findings and discuss their implications.

I. CONCLUSION

A. Publishers' Involvements in Contents of News

Publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong as perceived by editors, are highly involved in contents of news offending advertisers, contradictory to their views on politics, or harmful to their related business and relatives.

Contents concerning general features, social welfare, criticism of politicians and government are less likely to draw publishers' involvements. From the data of this study, publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong can be tentatively described as commercially, politically and self-oriented. They are commercially-oriented because they are more concerned with contents related to the revenues of their newspapers. They are politically-oriented, because they are keen to keep the political views of contents in line with their own. They are self-orientated, for they are concerned contents with which may damage their personal interests.

B. Patterns of Publishers' Activities

This study has found distinctively different publishers' activities in routine and non-routine situations. In non-routine situations, perceived publisher activity is much higher and publisher's instructions are perceived to be given much more explicitly. Moreover, publishers' activities can be classified into two types: situational and consistent. The situational type refers to those publisher activities, both their frequency and their clarity of instructions, perceived to be changing according to different situations. In general, publishers perceived as less frequent or less explicit in their instructions in routine situations are perceived to have become more frequent and more explicit in non-routine situations. On the other hand, the consistent type of publishers refers to

those publisher activities, both their frequency and their clarity of instructions, perceived to be consistent in both routine and non-routine situations.

C. Editors' Occupational Roles, Socialization in Organization and Assessment of Publisher with Publishers' Activities

1. Editors' positions and career orientations do not appear to have any relationship with perceived publishers' activities. This study learns that junior editors are more likely to perceive higher frequency of publisher activity in both routine and non-routine situations. On clarity of instructions, senior editors are more likely to perceive explicit instructions in routine situations. In non-routine situations, both senior and junior editors perceive explicit instructions alike. On the other hand, professionally-oriented editors are highly likely to perceive higher frequency of publisher activities in routine situations. And all three types of editors, professionally-oriented, interest-oriented and job-oriented, similarly perceive in non-routine situations higher frequency of publisher activity and explicit instructions.

2. The findings show that there is no relationship of editors' socialization in organization with the perceived publishers' activities. Editors, with different lengths of service, have similarly perceived higher frequency of publisher activity and explicit instructions in non-routine situations.

than in routine situations. And editors' media experience does not cause the editors to perceive higher frequency of publisher activity or more explicit instructions.

3. All three aspects of editors' assessment of their publishers, esteem held for publisher, political congruence with publisher and perceived publisher's editorial experience, are not related to the perceived publishers' activities. Editors, whether they have high or low esteem for publisher, have similar higher frequency of perceived publisher activity in routine and non-routine situations. However, high esteem holders are more likely to perceive explicit instructions than low esteem holders both in routine and non-routine situations. On the other hand, editors whose political views are closer to those of the publisher's are more likely to perceive higher frequency of publisher activity and explicit instructions in routine and non-routine situations. Publishers who have editorial experience are perceived to be less active in editorial decisions in routine situations, but more involved in non-routine situations.

As far as clarity of instructions is concerned, experienced as well as inexperienced publishers are perceived to give explicit instructions in routine and non-routine situations.

D. Organizational Structures, Editors' Media Experience and Publishers' Activities

There is no intervening effect of organizational structures between editors' position and publishers' activities. Neither

is there any intervening effect between perceived publisher's editorial experience and publishers' activities. However, the percentages of perceiving high frequency of publisher activity and more explicit instructions are much higher in flat structures than in tall structures.

Again, editors' media experience has no intervening effect between editors' socialization and publisher's activities. Although more media experience would be a benefit for short-service editors that they may perceive higher frequency of publisher activity and explicit instructions, for longer-service editors, media experience does not seem to affect the perception of publishers' activities.

II. DISCUSSION

This study has helped to shed some light on the problems raised at the beginning of this thesis. It found that the existence of different patterns of publishers' activities in different contents of news. It also reveals that the editors' occupational roles, editors' socialization in organization and editors' assessment of publisher, are not related to perceived publisher activity and perceived clarity of instructions given by the publisher. However, two hypotheses testings gain impressive results on Chi-square value and level of significance, but one or two cell numbers of the tables are smaller than five, making the results too arbitrary. These cases

happened in testing the relations of editors' esteem for publishers and clarity of instructions (Tables 21a, 21b), the intervening effects of organizational structures between perceived publisher's editorial experience and clarity of instruction in routine situations (Table 27a). Both show very clear trends. Editors holding high esteem for their publishers perceive more explicit instructions from their bosses in routine and non-routine situations. And publishers, perceived to be experienced in editorial matters, will give more explicit instructions than those with no editorial experience in tall structures. This is because an experienced publisher is familiar with the operation of news gathering and processing. Tall structures do not cause barriers. He knows how to command and hence he can give more explicit instructions. For inexperienced publisher, explicit instructions would only unveil his ignorance of editorial matters.

A. Publishers' Involvements in Deciding the Contents of News

This study has found that publishers' are highly involved in contents concerning advertisers, publishers' political views and business. These findings are consistent with those of Bowers' study of American publishers. Bowers' study finds that publishers are perceived to be more active in contents of news concerning newspapers' revenue. The protection of one's advertising revenue appears to be more important than the consideration of professional codes in the U.S. and in Hong

Kong. News organizations, by journalistic conventions, have the responsibility to monitor government affairs and to protect the interest of the public at large. But as a commercial enterprise, news organization has to pursue its own interests and fulfil its organizational goals first (Tunstall 1971), resulting in that the publisher's personal interest will always be placed before the public's interests. In other words, the public's interests can only be safeguarded so long as they are not in conflict with the publisher's interests. Publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong show no significant participation in editorial decisions which concern their personal or relative's business. This is because most of these publishers do not have other businesses than publishing their newspapers. However, if a newspaper publisher does have other interests, he or she would be perceived to care about them too. For instance, Sing Tao Jih Pao's related business includes ----- medical services, photo-developing, and tourism. Its publisher is thus perceived to have greater frequency of publisher activity in the personal and relatives interests-related contents than other publishers.

In the United States, Bowers (1967) found that publishers are primarily concerned with local news followed by national news and international news. In Donohue, Tichenor and Olien's (1972) study, it is found that publishers have the intention to relieve community tension. In the case of Hong Kong, which is an international city, with Taiwan's Nationalist interests on the one hand and mainland China's influence on the other,

publishers are more wary of expressing political views. Most of the publishers of commercial Chinese newspapers openly declare their neutral stands in politics involving Beijing-Taipai conflicts. Their main concern is not to be involved in the ideological propaganda war across the Taiwan Strait. This perhaps explains why publishers are perceived to be more frequently involved in making decisions concerning political news so as to maintain a more neutral or independent stand.

B. Patterns of Publishers' Activities

Through this exploratory study, this researcher has found that there are two types of Hong Kong publishers in terms of the ways they deal with editorial decisions in commercial Chinese language newspapers, viz. the situational and consistent publishers. These "situational" and "consistent" publishers are equally present in either the "tall" or "flat" structures, as is evidenced in the following table.

Table 28

PERCENTAGES OF CONSISTENT AND SITUATIONAL PUBLISHERS
IN TALL AND FLAT STRUCTURE BY FREQUENCY
OF PUBLISHER ACTIVITY AND CLARITY OF INSTRUCTIONS

		Tall	Flat
Publisher Activity	Consistent	44%	49%
	Situational	56%	51%
		-----	-----
		100%	100%
Clarity of Instruction	Consistent	70%	70%
	Situational	30%	30%
		-----	-----
		100%	100%

This suggests that the organizational structure of a newspaper has little impact on a publisher's activity in editorial decision-making. This understanding of the two types of publishers also debunks the myth of editorial freedom. There are only a handful of publishers who will allow their editors a free hand that these media do have organizational charts with tall or flat inclined to have greater involvement in editorial decisions. Findings show that even those publishers who do not participate in editorial decisions in routine situations will give instructions in non-routine situations.

C. Editors' Occupational Roles and Publishers' Activities

This study shows that junior editors perceive greater degree of publisher involvement in editorial decisions than senior editors in routine and non-routine situations, and in tall structures in both routine and non-routine situations. These findings are all contradictory to the hypotheses set at the beginning of the study.

These phenomena may be a result of the junior editors' perception having been distorted. Junior editors may perceive some non-genuine publishers' activities, which are in fact performed by senior editors. This researcher's and Harold Evans' cases cited in Chapter 2 are good examples. In this researcher's personal experience, the chief editor told him that the publisher had instructed that the news report on the banning of all cigarette advertising not published while in fact the

publisher had never said such things. In London's Sunday Times,

Harold Evans was told not to support a political party because
the publisher did not want to. But it was actually the chief
editor's intention instead of the publisher's. The purpose for
senior editors to use such tactics is obvious, as they do not
want to be challenged by their subordinates on their decisions.
Therefore, they use the publisher's name as a shield to enhance
their authority and to protect themselves. This is why junior
editors perceive more publishers' activities than senior editors
in routine situations. Moreover, publishers' activities are so
obvious in non-routine situations that most editors can perceive
high publishers' activities regardless of their positions. As a
result, the differences between senior and junior editors on
perceiving publishers' activities are minimal.

In examining the clarity of instructions given by the
publisher, senior editors perceive more explicit instructions
than junior editors in routine situations. In non-routine
situations, both senior and junior editors perceive more or less
the same degree of explicit instructions. This phenomena may
further suggest that when senior editors give instructions in
the name of the publishers, they would not convey them
explicitly. They would hint to the junior editors that it was
the publisher's intention to do so. Therefore, junior editors
perceive more implicit instructions from publishers via senior
editors. In non-routine situations, publishers may give more

explicit instructions so that similar proportions of both senior and junior editors perceive explicit instructions. This researcher has also found that junior editors in tall structures perceive more explicit instructions than senior editors. In flat structures, the difference narrows. This finding seems to indicate that senior editors' deceptive behaviours are more frequent in tall structures than in flat structures. As Luthans (1977), Porter and Siegel (1965) have found junior positions in tall structures have less chances to directly communicate with the publisher, this provides an opportunity for the senior editors to give instructions in the name of the publisher. This researcher believes that senior editors' 'deception behaviour' is a problem in a sense of communication between publisher and his subordinates in news organization. Further studies should be made to explore the causes of such distortion, the effects of the distortion on editorial decisions, editors' morale, and its relations with self-censorship.

On editors' career orientations, the professionally-oriented editors show the highest level of awareness of the publishers' activities in editorial decisions. This finding is consistent with that of Cantor's finding. Cantor finds that professionally-oriented producers are more reluctant to be interfered. Although this study cannot establish a relationship between career orientations and perceived publishers' activities, the distribution of frequency of career orientations

is worth discussing. Among the 100 surveyed editors, only eleven editors consider themselves professionally-oriented. Most of the editors (65) regard themselves as interest-oriented writer-editors. Twenty-two editors are job-oriented. This means that the vast majority of the editors (87) have very little professional commitment. This lack of professionalism is alarming. What if pressures are asserted upon these "non-professionally" editors? Are they sensitive enough about their publishers' activities in editorial decision making? All these questions deserve further studies.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a chief editor should know how to avoid conflict with the publisher, and keep the trouble out of the publisher's door. In so doing, a senior editor may exercise a certain degree of self-censorship in order to avoid the publisher's probable involvement in editorial decisions. In other words, senior editors in their efforts to avoid publisher activity in editorial decision will make judgements which are compatible with the publisher's. In this sense, the publisher is actually controlling the editorial decision, although he can still claim that he has given his editors a free hand. By doing so, a publisher can avoid being accused of interfering with editorial decisions. Self-censorship by senior editors can thus be regarded as invisible control of the publisher. If a publisher adopts this tactics, any explicit questions put forward to the editors about publisher activity will not reveal

the whole picture. As this researcher has observed, some editors claim that every editorial decision is made with their own judgments. They may have overlooked the fact that such judgments may be made in the publisher's shadow. This phenomenon deserves close examination against the political backdrop during Hong Kong's transition to become a truly self-governed Special Administrative Region of China. In the past, most publishers of the commercial Chinese newspapers claim that they are neutral in China politics. Now, they may be reconsidering their positions. For those experienced editors, would they exercise self-censorship in anticipation of what the publisher tells them to do? The changes of an editorial stand may either reflect the editor's scope of censorship or the level of ready-adaption of the publisher's attitude. If this change of editorial stand is accepted by readers at large, then the publisher may give a go-ahead signal to the editor concerned. If the change is rejected by the readers, the publisher will interfere and bring the changes to a halt. The changes of the editorial decisions on the selection of girly photographs in Ming Pao and the selection of news items in Hong Kong Daily are two obvious and convincing cases. Editor's self-censorship, again, can be regarded as a most implicit control exercised by the publisher. And, this, unfortunately, seems to be very much in line with the 'control in the news room' hypothesis proposed by Breed more than three decades ago.

D. Organizational Structures and Publishers' Activities

Most of the commercial Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong have clear organizational charts to show editors' positions and duties in the news organizations. These charts show two ideal types of organization: tall structures and flat structures.

Sociologists suggest that organizational structures have certain effects on perceptions. A person usually can perceive his supervisor's activity more frequently in flat structures than in tall structures. But this study shows that the organizational structures have no intervening effect on editors' perceptions of publishers' activities regardless of their positions and publisher's editorial background. Thus, the hypotheses are not supported. This researcher ascribes such phenomena to the lack of division of labour in newspapers. In most newspapers, publishers usually do not authorize their chief editors to make any editorial decision on important issues. Most senior editors do not have separate offices. Their desks are adjacent to other junior editors'. When a publisher gives instructions to the chief editor in the newsroom, he is in fact wittingly or unwittingly letting instructions heard by other junior editors who are nearby. When a senior editor is absent, any junior editor can take up his job immediately. When a junior editor is absent, the senior editor has to take up the junior editor's job. Or, a publisher may simply go directly to

any editor or journalist in the newsroom to give his instructions or views. All these daily operations blur the distinction between a tall structure from a flat structure, thus eliminating the difference between the perceptions by senior and junior editors.

Publishers may use this strategy as often as possible to prepare the senior editors psychologically that they will be by-passed. The effects of the constant by-passes are obvious:

- a. staff will perceive the publisher as the ultimate authority,
- b. senior editors will then find it formidable to confront the publisher's authority in his activities on editorial decisions.

Conflicts between the publisher and the senior editor will as a result be prevented. Pointing out these effects is far more significant than simply saying that senior and junior editors in a tall structure do not have any significant difference in their perceptions under the publisher's constant bypass strategy. The effects of organizational structures on editorial decision-making need to be further explored.

E. Editors' Socialization and Publishers' Activities

1. Length of Service

The rejection of the Hypothesis 7 of editors' socialization with the publishers' activities shows that an editor's socialization is not related to the perception of high publisher frequency or more explicit publisher instructions in editorial

decisions. An editor's length of service may not be a good instrument to measure the degree of socialization. Breed (1955) mentions that there are several stages in the socialization process, but no specific period of time is given for 'cub stage' or 'wiring-in stage'. However, for the purpose of analysis, this survey defines 11 years or above as a dividing line for the long and well socialized editors, and ten years or below as the short and not yet socialized editors. Although the use of the 10-years of service as the dividing line is based on the knowledge gained in the pre-test and the distribution of the frequency, it is still a little arbitrary. This researcher learns a lesson from the rejection of the hypothesis 7 that an editor's socialization shall not be substituted by other measurement. The extent of socialization can perhaps be obtained from editor's self-evaluation.

2. Editors' Media Experience

It is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish who have had more media experience and who have not. This survey defines those who have served in more than two news organizations as having more media experience than those who have served in two or fewer news organizations. Such definition is adopted according to the pre-test and interviews. However, it is difficult to tell whether one who has served in four news organizations has more media experience than one who has served in three news organizations or less. It is this researcher's

suggestion that editor's media experience shall be measured by a compound of elements, including one's working experience in journalistic field, his positions in news organizations, etc. This deserves more thought.

F. Esteem Held for Publishers, Congruence With the Publisher's Political Views and Publisher's Editorial Experience Perceived by Editors and Publishers, Activities

In Chapter 7, the three hypotheses tested concerning esteem which editor hold for publisher, congruence with the publisher's political views and perceived publisher's editorial experience, are not supported by the findings. These outcomes may be attributed to various reasons, which are discussed as follows.

1. Esteem Held for Publisher

Interestingly enough, surveyed editors express their stands evenly on high 'respectful', low 'respectful' and 'no opinion' categories. One third of surveyed editors say they respect their publishers, the other third express low respectful for their publishers, the remaining one-third do not give their stands on this. Since 30% of editors are reluctant to give their views, it seems that the esteem question may be too sensitive to answer. This researcher suggests that direct questions should be avoided. An indirect question would better serve the purpose of eliciting editor's personal feelings toward the publisher. For instance, a respondent can be asked whether or to what extent the publisher enjoys a respectful status in

the newsroom by the editors. He may be further asked whether he agrees with the other editors in their assessment. By adopting such a strategy, this researcher believes a respondent will be less hesitant in filling out the questionnaire.

2. Congruence with the Publisher's Political Views

The responses to the question of congruence with the publisher's political views are similar to those to the "esteem" question. Surveyed editors do not wish to give their opinions. This may be because the editors are apolitical, or they do not regard congruence with their publisher's political views an important concern as publishers of commercial newspapers have already declared their neutral political stands.

3. Perceived Publisher's Editorial Experience

This study refutes the assertion in research literature that publisher's editorial experience has something to do with the publisher's activities. It bears an implication that editorial decision is similar in nature to a business-decision. The final decision-making lays on the hands of the chief executive of a company. The profession of the executive does not count as long as he holds the authoritative position. The situation in a newspaper is exactly the same. The publisher has the authority to make final editorial decisions. He participates as often as possible and as often as he wishes even though he may not have the appropriate professional experience in editorial matters.

G. The Sensitivity of Clarity of Instructions

The two dependent variables in this study are perceived publisher activity and clarity of instructions. It is found that the dependent variable of clarity of instructions is more sensitive than the perceived publisher activity particularly in testing the editors' assessment of publisher and publishers' activities. In routine and non-routine situations, the differences in perceiving high frequency of publisher activity by high esteem holders and low esteem holders are far less than the differences in perceiving explicit instructions by high esteem and low esteem holders.

In the aspect of congruence with the publisher's political views the differences of clarity of instructions in "congruent" and "not congruent" categories are less than the differences of perceived publisher activity. However, the difference of experienced and inexperienced publishers in clarity of instructions is greater than the difference of the perceived publisher activity. This phenomenon seems to suggest that the "quantity" data (frequency of perceived publisher activity) is too difficult for surveyed editors to recall. It is difficult because editors may not recall precisely how often their publishers participate in editorial decisions. While clarity of instructions is a "quality-type" question, it is easier to be recalled once an explicit instruction has indeed been given by the publisher. For instance, if a publisher rolls up his

sleeves, comes straight to an editor's desk and orders him to change a headline, that event will be remembered for years by the editor.

Again if the channels which publishers give instructions could be traced, such data would be more helpful in elaborating the data of clarity of instructions. The present available literature is concentrated on frequency of publisher activity or limited in individual cases. A study which combine these two would be an ideal approach to analysing publishers' activities.

This researcher suggests that further study on this topic should be explored and attention be given to quality data (e.g. clarity of instructions and channels) implemented by quantity data (e.g. frequency of publisher activity). Case studies concerning publisher activities seem a fruitful approach in future research in this area.

NOTES

1. 'Editorial decision-making' in this study refers to the following things to be decided: 1. the choice of the contents of news, 2. types of stories assigned to whom, 3. wording of headlines, 4. position of a story on a page, 5. layouts, and 6. matters related to the publication of a newspaper.
2. Some media critics have aired the same views that certain publishers of Chinese commercial newspapers in Hong Kong have softened their stands towards China. Two of the prominent articles were printed in South China Morning Post, December 14, 1985 and Asian Wall Street Journal, January 7, 1986.

3. This researcher was then an assistant to the publisher. The events mentioned in this part are excerpted from this researcher's diary.
4. This event was reported in Oriental Daily, July 1, 1984 and Ming Pao, June 8, 1984.

5. There are different versions on this event. The chief editor explained in his newspaper that the columnist was leaving that newspaper instead of being fired. But the columnist gave a different account.
6. The Journalist (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Journalists Association, October 1984).

7. This researcher interviewed the 14 contact persons of the 14 Chinese commercial newspapers. Most of them did not admit any publisher activity in editorial decisions. Instead, they said that decisions were made by themselves.
8. It is this researcher's observation and knowledge that publishers of several Chinese commercial newspapers do adopt different approaches to their editors.

9. The following information was obtained from interviews. Ming Pao launched a color page in 1984 with the picture of a -----
 young woman everyday. The publisher did not give any instructions to the editor on the criteria for selecting the pictures. But when complaints reached his ears that the women in the color page were too sexy and wore too little clothing, he ordered the editor to stop the practice. In the Hong Kong Daily case, the publisher told a news editor -----
 that he wished his newspaper to shift from the image of a popular lower class people newspaper to that of a newspaper for elites. The news editor soon began to 'exercise self-censorship' by placing murder and robbery stories in less prominent positions and highlighting stories which might interest elitist readers.
10. The impact of editors' assessment of their publishers - their esteem for the publishers, their political congruence with the publisher, and their perceived publishers' editorial experience - on frequency of publisher activity and clarity of instructions is summarized as follows to contrast the differences:

Dependant Variables	Independent Variables									
	Esteem		Congruence With Publishers' Political Views		Perceived Publishers' Editorial Experience					
	High	Low	Diff- erence	Con- gruent	Not gruent	Diff- erence	Y	N	Diff- erence	
Routine Situations										
High Perceived Publisher Activity	62	71	9%	66	57	11%	57	59	12%	
Explicit Instructions	92	57	35%	83	73	10%	62	60	22%	

Non-routine Situations										
High Perceived Publisher Activity	84	79	5%	89	78	11%	87	80	7%	
Explicit Instructions	98	62	36%	91	81	10%	90	74	16%	

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APPENDIX 1

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES OF 14 COMMERCIAL CHINESE LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS IN HONG KONG

		Pub	Ch Ed	Dep Ch Ed	Man Ed	Dep Man Ed	News Ed	Dep News Ed	Eds	Reps
Tall Struct- ures	Oriental Daily	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Ming Pao	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*
	Sing Tao Jih Pao	*	*		*		*	*	*	*
	Sing Tao Man Pao	*	*		*		*	*	*	*
	Economic Journal	*	*				*		*	*
Flat Struct- ures	Tin Tin Daily	*	*				*		*	*
	Ming Pao Evening News	*	*				*		*	*
	Wah Kiu Man Pao	*	*				*		*	*
	Express	*	*				*		*	*
	Hong Kong Daily	*	*				*		*	*
	Sing Pao	*	*				*		*	*
	Wah Kiu Yat Pao	*	*				*		*	*
	Centre Daily	*	*				*		*	*
	Financial Daily	*	*				*		*	*

1. Publisher is abbreviated as Pub; Chief Editor as Ch Ed; Deputy as Dep., Managing Editor as Man Ed; Editors as Eds and Reporters as Reps.
2. * refers to the establishment of such editorial positions in the corresponding news organization.
3. Data of Appendix 1 are provided by this researcher's 14 informants.

APPENDIX 2

RETURN RATES OF QUESTIONNAIRES SENT TO THE 14 NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers	No. of Editors	No. of Questionnaires Returned	Return Rate %
Economic Journal	5	5	100
Sing Tao Jih Pao	15	13	87
Tin Tin Daily	15	13	86
Ming Pao Evening News	10	8	80
Sing Tao Man Pao	9	6	67
Wah Kiu Man Pao	6	4	67
Ming Pao Daily	24	15	58
The Express	11	7	55
Hong Kong Daily	22	7	41
Sing Pao	10	3	30
Wah Kiu Yat Pao	17	5	29
Oriental Daily	30	6	27
Centre Daily	12	2	17
Financial Daily	7	1	14
Total	193	100	52

APPENDIX 3

MARKS USED ON QUESTIONNAIRES TO IDENTIFY THE NEWSPAPERS

The questionnaires are printed on the letterhead of THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG. Marks are made in the first page on the above letterhead to identify the newspaper the individual editor is associated with. The scheme cannot identify the individual editor.

Mark on letter "T" refers to Oriental Daily.

Mark on letter "H" refers to Sing Tao Man Pao.

Mark on letter "E" refers to Sing Tao Jih Pao.

Mark on letter "C" refers to Ming Pao.

Mark on letter "H" refers to The Express.

Mark on letter "I" refers to Ming Pao Evening News.

Mark on letter "N" refers to Economic Journal.

Mark on letter "E" refers to Hong Kong Daily.

Mark on letter "S" refers to Centre Daily.

Mark on letter "E" refers to Financial Daily.

Mark on letter "U" refers to Sing Pao.

Mark on letter "N" refers to Wah Kiu Yat Pao.

Mark on letter "I" refers to Wah Kiu Man Pao.

Mark on letter "V" refers to Tin Tin Daily.



SHATIN, NT, HONG KONG, TEL.: 0-6352111, TELEGRAM: SINOVERSITY, 香港中文大學, 電話: 零六三五二一一
 KUNG TEL.: 0-6352111, TELEX: 50301 CUHK HX

新聞傳播系

Department of Journalism & Communication

我是中文大學傳播學系研究生，現正撰寫畢業論文，探討報紙出版人對編輯決定的參予程度。希望費你數分鐘時間，填上問卷，直接寄回或經派發人擲還。這是一份不記名問卷，所以請你放心填寫，多謝你的幫忙。

若有問題，請電 3-365225 (Off.) 或 3-7413845 (Res.) 聯絡。

張玉陽謹上
 一九八五年

* 請小心閱讀，每行務必回答，每行只能「✓」一個「□」

1. 通常情形，出版人有沒有就編輯/採訪決定，提出他的意見

經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

2. 通常情形，若果有提出，意見是屬於那一類

非常明確 ☐ 明確 ☐ 不明確 ☐ 不明確，及自行判斷 ☐

3. 通常情形，出版人透過那種渠道提出他的意見

直接告訴你 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

由上級轉達 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

編輯/採訪會議 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

4. 重大事件發生時，出版人有沒有對編輯/採訪決定提出意見

經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

5. 重大事件發生時，出版人若有提出意見，是屬於那一類

非常明確 ☐ 明確 ☐ 不明確 ☐ 不明確，及自行判斷 ☐

6. 重大事件發生時，出版人透過那種渠道提出他的意見

直接告訴你 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

由上級轉達 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

編輯/採訪會議 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐ 經常 ☐

7. 出版人的政治見解，和你是不是

相同 ☐ 相同 ☐ 相同 ☐ 相同 ☐ 相同 ☐

8. 在你的心目中，你覺得出版人是個怎樣的人？

非常值得尊敬的人 ☐ 相當值得尊敬的人 ☐ 一般值得尊敬的人 ☐ 不太值得尊敬的人 ☐ 不值得尊敬的人 ☐



新聞傳播系

Department of Journalism & Communication

9. 你認為下列項目中，出版人會提出意見的可能性是

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. 與出版人政見不同的言論 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. 會得罪廣告商的新聞文字圖片 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. 對出版人親友不利文字 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. 對出版人其他企業不利文字 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. 社會福利 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. 對出版人所支持政要不利文字 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. 批評政府文字 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. 一般副刊文字 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10. 下列那一項最能代表或最接近你對自己這份工作之評價
(四項只能選其一)

- ☐ 與一般職業無分別
- ☐ 提供良好學習機會，有利日後在其他方面發展
- ☐ 適合自己興趣的職業
- ☐ 可以發揮抱負的專業

11. 你的出版人有沒有編輯經驗

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 有豐富經驗 | 有經驗 | 沒有 | 不知道 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

12. 你的年齡在

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 20-30歲 | 31-40歲 | 41-50歲 | 51-60歲 | 60歲以上 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. 教育程度

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 中學或以下 | 大學(學士) | 其他 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

14. 以前曾任職傳播機構數目

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1間或以下 | 2間 | 3間 | 4間 | 5間 | 6間或更多 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

15. 從事新聞工作：_____年

16. 在目前機構工作：_____年

17. 目前職位：

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 總編輯/副總編輯/編輯主任 | 高級編輯/副高級編輯 | 編輯/副編輯 | 採訪主任/副採訪主任 | 記者/副記者 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

18. 擔任現時職位多久？_____年

APPENDIX B

THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND FREQUENCIES

The following is a translation of the original questionnaire in the Chinese language. Raw frequencies of responses are given after each question and each category of response.

I am a graduate student of the Journalism and Mass Communication Department, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. I am writing a graduate thesis, exploring publishers' activities in editorial decision making. Kindly spare a few minutes to fill out this questionnaire and return it to me by mail or through the person who distributed this questionnaire to you. As this is a confidential questionnaire, your anonymity will be ensured. Thank you for your help. In case of any question, please call me at 3-365225 (off.) or 3-7413845 (res.).

Sincerely,

Cheung Kwai-yeung

1985

* Please read carefully, make sure that all questions are answered. For each row, tick " " one " " only.

1. In ROUTINE SITUATIONS, does the publisher give his views or opinions in editorial decisions?

always	11
occasionally	40
seldom	33
none	8

2. In ROUTINE SITUATIONS, if the publisher does give his opinions, what kind of his opinions belong to?

very explicit	11
explicit	61
implicit	9
very implicit	18
(missing	3)

3. In ROUTINE SITUATIONS, which channel does the publisher use to give his opinions?

told you directly	11	always	16
		sometimes	27
		few	16
		none	12
		(missing	29)
passed from supervisor		always	25
		sometimes	41
		few	10
		none	5
		(missing	19)

editorial conference	always	10
	sometimes	25
	few	13
	none	10
	(missing	41)

4. In NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS, does the publisher give his opinions in editorial decisions?

always	37
occasionally	45
seldom	13
none	4
(missing	1)

5. In NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS, if the publisher does give his opinions, what kind of his opinions belong to?

very explicit	17
explicit	65
implicit	5
very implicit	9
(missing	4)

6. In NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS, which channel does the publisher use to give his opinions?

told you directly	always	24
	sometimes	21
	few	12
	none	8
	(missing	35)

passed from supervisor	always	26
	sometimes	37
	few	9
	none	5
	(missing	23)

editorial conference	always	8
	sometimes	18
	few	17
	none	10
	(missing	47)

7. Are your publisher's political views congruent with yours?

highly congruent	20
somewhat congruent	17
somewhat discrepant	28
greatly discrepant	9
no opinion	24
(missing	2)

8. In your mind, what do you think of your publisher?

hold him in high esteem	7
hold him in esteem	43
hold him in low esteem	13
hold him in a very low esteem	1
no opinion	34
(missing	2)

9. How probably will the publisher give his opinions to the following items?

A. Reports contrary to publisher's political views

highly probable	probable	23
probable	27	27
slightly probable	15	15
improbable	17	17
do not know	know	9 9
(missing	9)	9)

B. News reports or pictures which may offend advertisers

highly probable	34	34
probable	24	24
slightly probable	12	12
improbable	17	17
do not know	know	5 5
(missing	3)	8)

C. Reports disadvantageous to publisher's relatives

highly probable	19	19
probable	21	21
slightly probable	14	14
improbable	22	22
do not know	12	12
(missing	12)	12)

D. Reports disadvantageous to publisher's other enterprises other than newspapers

highly probable	20	20
probable	20	20
slightly probable	1	13
improbable	24	24
do not know	11	11
(missing	12)	12)

E. Reports concerning social welfare

highly probable	10	10
probable	29	29
slightly probable	17	17
improbable	25	25
do not know	5	5
(missing	14)	14)

F. Reports disadvantageous to politicians whom the publisher supports

highly probable	13	13
probable	19	19
slightly probable	13	13
improbable	24	24
do not know	14	14
(missing	12)	12)

G. Reports criticizing the government

highly probable	14
probable	22
slightly probable	21
improbable	27
do not know	2
(missing	14)

H. General features

highly probable	9
probable	21
slightly probable	17
improbable	30
do not know	10
(missing	13)

10. Which one of the four statements can best represent or closely match the self-evaluation of your present job?
(choose one only)

just a job to make one's living	16
a good opportunity to learn and to help	
establish oneself in other fields in future	6
a career which fits one's personal interest	65
a profession which can fulfill one's ambitions	11
(missing	2)

11. Does your publisher have any editorial experience?

very experienced	38	38
experienced	25	25
not experienced	22	26
do not know	11	11

12. Your age is:

20-30	21	21
31-40	34	34
41-50	17	19
51-60	18	18
61 or above	8	8

13. Your education is at:

secondary level	24	24
post-secondary or university	5	75
others:	0	0
(missing)	1	1

14. Number of mass media that you have served before:

one only	19	19
two	34	34
3-4	24	24
5-6	12	12
7-8	1	11
others:	0	0

15. How many years have you been practicing journalism?

16. How many years have you been with the present news organization?

17. Your present position is:

chief editor/deputy chief editor/

managing editor 12

news editor/deputy news editor 17

editors/wires editors 36

editors of ranks other than the

above ones 35

18. How long have you been in the present position?

End

Once again, thank you for your assistance.

APPENDIX 6

CHANNELS WHICH PUBLISHERS ARE PERCEIVED TO USE IN ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE SITUATIONS

Channels	Situations	
	Routine	Non-Routine
Passed From Supervisor (formal)	high 66	63
	low 15	14
	(missing) 19	23
Told You Directly (informal)	high 43	45
	low 28	20
	(missing) 29	35
Editorial Conference	high 36	26
	low 23	27
	(missing) 41	47



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